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ABSTRACT

A research project is described whose three major purposes were (1) to use data from the 1970 "Census of Population" to update, validate, and reinforce the findings of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) studies made for the Negro Employment in the South (NES) Project. (The scope of those studies covered seven major southern SMSA's--Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Louisville, Memphis, Miami, and New Orleans--and sought to determine and analyze the patterns of black employment with the ultimate purpose of arriving at policy recommendations aimed at the sources of the problems.), (2) to determine whether migration patterns for Southern SMSA's have widened income and occupational discrepancies between blacks and whites in them, and (3) to determine whether the income and occupational gap between the races widers as the educational level rises, as is commonly supposed, and if it does, if the discrepancy is becoming more or less pronounced. After the introductory section, which gives the background of the project, the seven SMSA's are discussed in separate chapters, which cover the sociological, economic, and political characteristics of the cities, the black and white 1970 census data relating to education, occupational status, and earnings, and the educational and occupational status of in-migrants to the SMSA's. The report concludes with a summary which focuses on the extent to which the analyses and conclusions of the NES study are modified by the 1970 census data. (SH)

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NEGRO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND EDUCATION: SPECIAL ANALYSIS UNDER THE 'NEGRO EMPLOYMENT IN THE SEVEN SOUTHERN SMSA'S' STUDY

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The principal objective of this report is to use data from the 1970 Census of Population to update, validate, and reinforce the findings of the SMSA studies made for the Negro Employment in the South (NES) project. Those studies, which covered seven major Southern SMSA's, relied heavily on EEO-1 data: the researchers sought to determine and analyze the patterns of black employment in the designated cities.[1] They focused on the industries, and the firms within industries, in which the Negro is making good progress, as well as those in which he is not, in order to isolate the factors that are causally important in this regard. A considerable effort was made to separate institutional discrimination--segregated schools, limited political power, concentrated housing--from overt labor market discrimination--unequal opportunity in hiring, firing, and promotion--to discover the forces that perpetuate the Negro's employment disadvantage. The ultimate purpose of all the research was to arrive at policy recommendations aimed at the sources of the problems.

The Negro Employment in the South metropolitan studies were made by researchers who had considerable personal knowledge of the respective cities, and the studies developed local flavor from insights due to that familiarity. However, there were two major data problems which could not be overcome under the time and money constraints of that project, and there are gaps in the analyses for that reason.

First, heavy reliance on EEO-1 data for employment and occupational status meant that the NES studies covered only that part of the labor force tied to firms having 100 or more employees, and restricted the testing of hypotheses aimed at the relationship between firm size and the Negroes' occupational disadvantage. These hypotheses are important since there is a widely held view that discrimination is an attribute of employers which leads them to hire members of their own race even though an equal quantity of labor input would be available for less through the use of minority workers. From this, it is possible to infer that discrimination cannot persist indefinitely under highly competitive conditions; hence it must be tied to the degree of product market control and, by implication, to firm size. Unfortunately, the lack of precise surrogates for market control makes it difficult to get at the relationship empirically.

It is also possible to view discrimination in an occupational, as opposed to a purely job acquisition, context.

> Employment and occupational discrimination can be explained mainly as status and control of economic opportunity phenomena . . . white workers have resisted the employment or upgrading of black workers both because blacks were regarded as

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[1] Atlanta; Birmingham; Houston; Louisville; Memphis; Miami; New Orleans

> 'inferior' people who would reduce the status of their occupations and because white workers seek to monopolize economic opportunities for themselves . . . The main way in which racial wage differentials are perpetuated is by misclassifying black workers as 'helpers' or laborers when they are actually working as journeymen; it seems that this reflects status considerations more than it does a taste for discrimination for which the employer is willing to pay or for which white workers and foremen demand payment. 2/

This is a wider, though not necessarily contradictory, view of discrimination. It argues that discrimination may lead either to denial of a job or to placement at a level below the worker's capabilities. Operationally, at least in the empirical work in the NES study, discrimination is taken to be present whenever employment and occupational decisions are made independent of income and productivity constraints. Thus, both penetration rates and indexes of occupational position are clearly useful in exhibiting unequal labor market treatment of blacks.

The restriction of EEO-1 data to large firms is almost as troublesome in this larger view of discrimination. It is not feasible to subtract occupational counts in EEO-1 series from corresponding counts in Census data to get at small firm occupational distributions: the counts were made at different times and under different reporting conditions.3/ The alternative is to compare large firm distributions with the Census all-firm distributions, but even then the results must not be taken uncritically. For one thing, occupational distributions for blacks in all firms, large and small, may well be higher than those for blacks employed by large firms alone for reasons unrelated to discrimination by white employers. Most businesses owned and operated by blacks are small, and EEO-1 data, restricted to large firms, exclude them. All-firm data include them, giving a boost to the black counts in the top occupational categories in the latter group.4/ More fundamentally, the occupational indexes for both races are shifted upward. The best one can do is to attempt to find whether, net of these considerations, the Negro worker fares as well relative to the occupational structure in large firms as he does in all

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2/ Ray Marshall and Virgil Christian, Jr., "The Economics of Discrimination." In their The Employment of Southern Blacks (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1974).

3/An attempt was made to get small firm distributions in that manner in this study. The results were grotesque.

4/Actually, the EEOC procedure divides firms into three strata: (1) firms with 100 or more employees; (2) firms with fewer than 100 employees but having first or second level government contracts; (3) firms with fewer than 100 employees and no government contracts. The first two strata are sampled at 100%, but there is no sample at all from the last. Unless one is willing to assume that firms with fewer than 100 employees which have government contracts constitute a random sample of all firms having fewer than 100 employees--an assumption strong enough to call into question any inferences made using it--then one must accept the fact that EEO-1 data provide absolutely no information from the stratum of firms having least control of product and labor markets, i.e., firms that presumably operate under the most competitive conditions.

firms: if he does, there is a serious question about the adequacy of the competitive hypothesis to account for the occupational disadvantage of blacks.

The second data problem did not apply to employment itself. but to demographic data needed to analyze employment patterns. The socio-economic profiles of people in the SMSA's had to be developed almost entirely from the 1960 Census of Population, and they were several years out of phase with employment and occupational statistics provided by the EEOC. Consequently, income, educational, and labor force characteristics had to be projected several years forward and appropriately modified before they could be used in cross section regression analyses designed to account for occupational distributions generated out of EEO-1 data. Social aggregates are relatively stable over short periods of time, but the South in the sixties was characterized by a rapidly changing industry and occupational mix, and by considerable population mobility, so direct application of the 1960 Census data seemed inadvisable. Even so, the adjustments added an element of uncertainty to the results.

It is not the sole purpose of this study to validate, update, and expand the findings of the earlier NES project. Researchers in that project opened the door to several questions which were beyond the scope of their assignment, and which they lacked the precise data to answer, and two are included in the present inquiry. One, have migration patterns for Southern SMSA's been such as to widen income and occupational discrepancies between blacks and whites in them; two, does the income and occupational gap between the races widen as the educational level rises, as is commonly supposed, and if it does, is the discrepancy becoming more or less pronounced?

One argument advanced in the NES study was that most of the black migration into Southern SMSA's came from labor displaced from agriculture. Most black migration out of Southern SMSA's and out of the region was of better educated, higher skilled workers who sought pay more commensurate with their abilities elsewhere.5/ The argument is clearly consistent with the human capital approach to migration, which presumes that it is rational for an individual to move if the present value of the expected lifetime earnings stream in the place of destination is sufficiently greater than the corresponding stream in the place of origin to cover the costs of moving.6/ The technological revolution in agriculture in the 1950's reduced the marginal product of much unskilled agricultural labor to

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5/The work of Rashi Fein provided the basic support for this notion: it shows that the educational distribution of the migrants out of the South lay well above that of blacks in the rural South--presumptive evidence that the migrants were in the main from urban areas. Rashi Fein, "Education Patterns in Southern Migration," Southern Economic Journal, Special Supplement on Education (July, 1965).

6/Larry Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy, Supplement, LXX (October, 1962) near zero; this was particularly true in the production of the South's major crop, cotton, which shifted sharply from labor intensive to capital intensive in varely a decade. For displaced cotton workers almost all the income generated off the farm became net gain, i.e., it could be considered almost entirely to be the difference between farm and non-farm income. As a result, these people from rural areas swelled the supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labor in Southern SMSA's, and competed with resident labor for available jobs. The consequent pressure on employment and wages was hardly welcome. At that time, even more than now, Southern custom locked blacks, with minor exceptions, into low status, low pay jobs, so it was natural that the better qualified among them would drift toward other regions where they had hope of more equal treatment.[7]

> As a consequence of educational-skill differences and regional racial attitudes, nonwhites from the surplus agricultural labor pool were disadvantaged in seeking employment in the nonagricultural sectors of the regional economy, leaving blacks disproportionately represented in the pool of 'idle' labor. The dynamics of this pool operated in the direction of pushing away from the region and into the industrialized and urban areas of the country the upper layers of Negro labor . . . Here there has been in operation a siphonic effect. Displaced farm labor pushing away urban Negro labor and finding a place for itself in the lower layers of the labor market in the South.[8]

The conclusion that black migration, to the extent that it was numerically significant, eroded the quality of the black labor force in Southern SMSA's is inescapable. Support for the conclusion comes from comparisons of income, occupational, and educational data between blacks who came in to the SMSA's and, one, those who were already there, and two, those who were there but subsequently left.

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[7] Custom has long been recognized as a major determinant of the structure of wages. G.G.C. Routh, "Interpretations of Pay Structure," International Journal of Social Economics, 1 (Spring, 1974) gives a lengthy review of the literature and provides the following highly relevant quote from Donald I. Mackay, et al., Labor Markets under Different Employment Conditions (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971): 'It would seem therefore that the conditions prevailing at plant level may have an effect on wages in a manner which is rigorously excluded from the traditional model. Economic rationality and competitive forces are not strong enough to result in a situation where each employer pays no more and no less than the market wage. Because competitive forces are present the concept of the market wage has its uses, but it also has severe limitations as a description of the realities which face the employer. In a world of imperfect knowledge, with powerful institutions and persistent differences in efficiency and profitability at plant level, market forces appear to set only the outside limits within which the wage bargain will be struck.'

[8] Virgil L. Christian, Jr., and Adamantios Pepelasis, "Negro Agricultural Employment and Surplus Labor in the Economy of the South," Preceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association (1970), p. 57.

White migration, on the other hand, was somewhat different. The region's growth industries demanded a fairly sophisticated work force, and there was apparently a steady inflow of well educated white labor to meet their needs.9/ The inflow of high grade white labor from outside the region to the Southern SMSA's served to reinforce the advantage that white labor displaced from agriculture had over black labor similarly displaced, and strongly suggests that population movements into and out of Southern SMSA's served to widen income, educational, and occupational differences between the races. Other pressures--integrated schools, equal employment opportunity legislation, increased political power--may have been sufficient to overcome the effects of migration and bring about a narrow gain in the black's relative economic position in Southern cities. but the gain was in spite of, rather than because of, population movements.10/

It is unfortunate that definitive tests of these assertions cannot be made from data on the 1970 Census tapes, but the data cover the last half of the decade of the sixties and the heavy black migration out of the rural South took place in the fifteen years preceding that time. However, the tapes do provide more valuable information on migration than it was possible to utilize within the bounds of this project. For one thing, a search of the tapes for the entire country is necessary to pick up out-migrants from the seven SMSA's of interest here, and that is a time consuming and expensive procedure which would more than exhaust the computing budget. This study is restricted, therefore, to an examination of the educational and occupational characteristics of in-migrants to the cities in question: it is hoped that other studies which show that black out-migrants have higher qualifications than those who remained may be relied on to round out the argument.11/ There is a second difficulty--a purely technical one related to data packing on the tapes--that reduces the effectiveness of the data for testing the hypotheses of this study: persons who move from one county to another are considered migrants, which means that people who move from county to county within the same SMSA are included. In the absence of information on the size of this group, it is impossible to say to what extent they influence the data.

9/ Fein's work (op. cit.) shows educational qualifications of white in-migrants to be quite high. A discussion of the changing industry mix in the regional economy, and of the character of the growth industries, can be found in James G. Maddox, et al., The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1967).

10/Recent work by Arvil Van Adams and Gilbert Nestel shows that the black out-migrants from the South have outperformed and outearned blacks in the SMSA's to which they migrated, strongly suggesting that they were well above the average of Southern black labor. Arvil Van Adams and Gilbert Nestel, "Interregional Migration, Education, and Poverty in the Urban Ghetto: Another Look at Black-White Earnings Differentials," Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, September, 1973. Forthcoming 1974 in Review of Economics and Statistics.

11/Rashi Fein, op. cit. Fein's work shows that the education qualifications of black out-migrants from the South were well above the regional average, which means that they were far indeed above those who left Southern agriculture. Also, Arvil Van Adams and Gilbert Nestel, op. cit. They used longitudinal data to show that black migrants out of the South fared better in the urban job market of the Midwest and Northeast than do blacks raised there.

Another important conclusion of the NES study is that institutional factors--segregated housing, political impotence, social inferiority--focused in the educational system are at least as detrimental to the economic status of blacks in the South as is overt employer discrimination in the labor market. However, there has been some recent research--widely read and widely accepted--that infers that Negro disadvantage is but marginally associated with educational factors. The studies were based on the return to human capital approach and show that for blacks the return to additional schooling--the marginal rate of return to education--is much less than it is for whites, and, further, that the discrepancy in the rate of return becomes more pronounced as the educational level rises.[12] The subsequent inference that the labor market solution for blacks lies outside the classroom seems reasonable, and challenges the basis for many of the recommendations made in the NES report.

The difference in point of view has an importance far beyond the usual academic quibble, as the policy implications of social acceptance of the incorrect alternative are serious for millions of people. It seems that the notion that educational equality is not vital in bringing black economic and social status up to white levels is appealing to many in both races: blacks who feel that their problem lies on the demand side in the labor market and that sufficient pressure on employers would remedy the situation in short order; whites who resent all attempts to bring about real racial integration of the schools, whether or not that is required for equality of educational opportunity. The busing issue, an emotional one for all parents, serves to reinforce these attitudes.

Actually, the argument is not that educational equality is a sufficient condition for driving black income and occupational status up to that of whites: few, if any, of the NES researchers believe that. But it may well be a necessary condition, and that is a quite different matter. Educational equality may be necessary for blacks to achieve equality, and yet the data show them lagging far behind at all educational levels if other necessary conditions are not met. That is, eighth grade blacks may lag eighth grade whites, high school graduate blacks may lag high school graduate whites, and so on through the educational ladder, and still not contradict the necessity condition. The point is too obvious to be labored, but it is also too important to be ignored, since it implies that labor market equality is impossible without educational equality even if all other conditions are met. It then lies at the crunch of the disagreement as to whether discrimination on the supply side is as important, or even more important, than discrimination on the demand side in fixing the black worker's low status in the job market.

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[12] Much work on returns to education has taken place in the period since 1960. Seminal articles are by T.W. Schultz, "Capital Formation by Education," Journal of Political Economy, 68 (December, 1960), p. 580, and "Investment in Human Capital," American Economic Review, 51 (March, 1961); Herman P. Miller, "Annual and Lifetime Income in Relation to Education: 1939-1959," American Economic Review, 50 (December, 1960); and H.S. Honthakker, "Education and Income," Review of Economics and Statistics, 41 (February, 1959). One of the first pointing out the differential return to blacks was Randall Weiss, "The Effect of Education on the Earnings of Blacks and Whites," Review of Economics and Statistics, 52 (May, 1970)

It is not unlikely that this is an instance of strong interconnection between the demand and supply sides in the market. As long as employers believe that they can buy greater productivity in the white employee than in the black employee at the same educational level, reflecting the widely held belief that black schools are of lower quality than white schools, white workers will have the advantage in getting jobs and in moving upward in the occupational structure. It is not only that blacks must get equal education, but that employers must realize that they are. It may well take many years after the Negro has reached actual equality in median years of schooling before employers change their attitudes and the data begin to reflect it. Thus one can accept the proposition that full equality in the return to education for blacks must wait until they catch up in educational attainment--a supply side consideration--and until employers realize that they have caught up and act accordingly--a demand side consideration--and still believe strongly that the pathway lies through the classroom.13/

Data that shed some light on these issues are available on the 1970 Census tapes. In particular, income and occupational distributions at specified grade levels, by race and sex, are useful in exhibiting the relative status of blacks and whites. Rough comparisons of returns to education are made, but it was not possible to make accurate determinations of the costs of education, by race, for each of the SMSA's, so the figures are gross indicators rather than refined calculations.

13/For the individual black the decision to pursue more education should depend on whether he or she, as a black, will benefit sufficiently in lifetime earnings to justify the additional investment. It is regrettable that the return to him for additional schooling will not be the same for blacks as for their white counterparts, but it may still be most worthwhile. It is self-defeating to forego the benefits of further education just because the returns are less for some than for others.

Scope

The scope of this project is limited to seven Southern SMSA's--Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Louisville, Memphis, Miami, and New Orleans--and to those problems outlined and discussed in the preceding section. It is hoped that the major impediments to black equality in the labor markets of these SMSA's, and by inference to those not specifically included, are illuminated in this study, and in its forerunner the Negro Employment in the South project. The specific questions addressed in this study are as follows:

1. Do the EEO-1 data used to exhibit and analyze the patterns of black employment in the NES study adequately represent all firms, large and small, in the seven Southern urban labor markets, or do the Census data contradict them sufficiently to change the basis of remedial programs?

2. Are migration trends in Southern SMSA's causing racial income and occupational gaps to widen in those SMSA's? Do educational and occupational data for migrants support the assertion that black population movements, insofar as they are numerically significant, are eroding the relative position of the black labor force in Southern SMSA's?

3. What is the amount of the black's income disadvantage at given occupational levels? Does it rise as the occupational level rises?

4. What is the magnitude of the income and occupational gap between blacks and whites at given educational levels? Do the gaps widen as the educational level rises? What do the data imply about the notion that educational equality is a necessary rather than a sufficient condition for labor market equality for blacks?

Format

The structure of the report is dictated by its purpose. Accordingly, there is a review of the NES work on each of the seven SMSA's and a comparison of occupational and employment data from the 1970 Census with EEO-1 data used in the NES reports. There are chapters summarizing the 1970 Census data relating to education, occupational status, and earnings, and the educational and occupational status of in-migrants to the SMSA's. The report concludes with a summary which focuses on the extent to which the analyses and conclusions of the NES study are modified by the 1970 Census data.

CHAPTER 1

MEMPHIS SMSA[1]

Memphis is a trade, service, and distribution center for the mid-South. Its population, about 40 percent black, grew rapidly in the decades since 1940, rising from 401,000 to 530,000 in 1950, to 675,000 in 1960, and to 770,000 in 1970.[2] Net in-migration was an important component of the population growth though it fell from 25 percent of the annual gain between 1950 and 1960 to 15 percent between 1960 and 1970. Decline in the utilization of farm labor in the surrounding states was partly responsible for the in-migration in the years following 1950: western Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas were among the states most affected by the technological revolution in Southern agriculture that brought about a drop of 160,000 a year in the fifties and 60,000 a year in the sixties in the Southern rural population. However, further growth in Memphis can no longer derive from this source as the farm labor force had fallen, in the early seventies, to one-third its 1950 size; future in-migration depends on movement from rural non-farm areas and from normal internal population increases as the SMSA develops economically.

The city of Memphis lies inside Shelby County, Tennessee. The county also contains sizeable suburbs.[3] Blacks are concentrated in the inner city in segregated housing patterns; Census tracts containing 4,000 or more blacks hold more than 75 percent of the 1970 black population. Presently the concentrations of black population are, in general, located fairly close to the major clusters of manufacturing, finance, and government employment; at present the distance from place of residence to place of work does not seem to be the employment problem that it is in many cities. Unfortunately, this apparently will not continue, as most proposed sites for industrial growth lie outside existing pockets of black housing.

Segregated schools increasingly follow segregated housing, and the situation in Memphis is typical. It is also getting worse, which too is typical, as whites move steadily to the suburbs.

1/The first part of this chapter, dealing with the sociological, economic, and political characteristics of the city, is basically a synopsis and summary of the work of Arvil Van Adams, The Memphis Labor Market. Vol. 2 of Negro Employment in the South (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

2/The Memphis SMSA includes Shelby County, Tennessee, and Crittenden County, Arkansas. About 93 percent of the population is in Shelby County.

3/About 100,000 people in Shelby County are not in the city of Memphis

> One inner city elementary school, for example, changed from 371 whites and five Negroes in 1963-64 to 878 Negroes and no whites in 1969-70. Another elementary school changed from 592 whites and 265 Negroes in 1956-66 to 1,360 Negroes and six whites in 1969-70. The trend was everywhere evident . . . 4/

By 1968 over 98 percent of black students in the public schools of Memphis were in schools having less than 3 percent whites. If there are benefits to integrated education, most Memphis blacks are clearly missing them. Achievement test scores point up the relative quality of black versus white schools: at grade 1 the achievement level of students in schools with at least 90 percent blacks was 1 year, 8 months, while for schools with at least 90 percent whites it was 2 years, 2 months, but by grade 8 the figures had become 6 years, 7 months, and 9 years, 2 months, respectively. Thus the difference in achievement levels had widened from 6 months at grade 1 to 2 years, 7 months at grade 8.5/

Segregated schools, segregated housing, and poverty walk hand-in-hand. In 1959 two-fifths of Memphis people were black, two-thirds of her poor were black. The median income of black families, $2,666, was only 54.5 percent of that of all families.6/ There were gains in the sixties, but the situation is still distressing. The 1970 Census shows 44.4 percent of the black population and 8 percent of whites with incomes less than poverty level, and the mean income of black families at $5,793 as opposed to $11.981 for whites.7/ Tragically, the proportion of black households headed by women, with the economic and social ills that statistic mirrors, continues to rise, reaching 28.4 percent in 1970 from 20.6 percent in 1960; comparable figures for whites were 9.2 percent in 1970 and 8.7 percent in 1960.8/

Employment Patterns

Employment data in Table 2-1 reflect the industry mix in the Memphis SMSA. Census counts confirm the general accuracy of the Tennessee Department of Employment Security (TDES) estimates relied on by Adams in his analysis of the Memphis labor market.9/ Firms large enough to

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4/Adams, op. cit., p. 8

5/Ibid., p. 9.

6/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, Part 44, Tenne-see, Tables 76 and 78 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

7/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 44, Tennessee, Tables 89, 90, 94, 95, 100, and 101 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

8/Census of Population 1960, op. cit., Table 110.

9/Adams, op. cit., p. 7

Table 2-1

Estimated Employment for the Memphis SMSA, 1970

Employment status and industry	Census number	TDES number
Total civilian labor force	294,369	309,600
Unemployed	14,261	8,200
Employed	280,108	301,400
Nonagricultural wage and salary workers	261,049	259,800
Manufacturing	55,565	59,800
Durable goods	24,802	29,500
Lumber (except furniture)	3,260	5,100
Sawmills and planing mills	2,710	3,400
Furniture and fixtures	2,430	3,200
Fabricated metal products	2,750	3,600
Machinery (except electrical)	4,287	4,700
Electrical machinery	4,309	6,100
All other 1/	7,766	6,800
Nondurable goods	30,368	30,300
Food products	7,583	9,700
Bakery products	1,364	2,000
Apparel	1,969	2,400
Paper products	4,376	4,600
Printing and publishing	2,958	3,000
Chemicals	5,641	4,700
All other 2/	7,841	5,900
Nonspecified manufacturing industries	395	--
Mining	230	200
Construction	12,152	13,100
Transportation, communication, and public utilities	17,896	19,700
Trade	59,781	66,400
Wholesale	18,997	24,400
Retail	40,784	42,000
Finance, insurance, and real estate	14,373	13,600
Service 3/	52,007	41,300
Government	49,045	45,700

1/ Includes stone, clay, and glass products; primary metal industries; transportation equipment; professional and photographic equipment; ordnance, and miscellaneous manufacturing.

2/ Includes textile mill products; petroleum and coal products; rubber; and leather.

3/ Includes business and repair services; personal services; entertainment and recreational services; professional and related services.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 44, Tennessee, Table 186, pp. 830-31. Total civilian labor force data abstracted from Table 164, pp. 572-3. TDES data from Tennessee Department of Employment Security, February, 1969.

report EEO-1 data showed black men holding 29.7 percent of men's jobs in the private sector of the labor market in 1969, and black women 25.8 percent of women's jobs, the latter up from 17.2 percent three years earlier. Census data, 10/ covering all firms, indicated that the 29.1 percent job share for black men in 1960 fell to 27.4 percent in 1970. However, the rate for black women rose from 23.9 percent to 27.6 percent during the 1960-1970 period. 11/ From this it appears that the black share of jobs in small firms is less than in large firms, as data from small firms pulled the large firm percentages down. Population data indicate that the black man's job share is less than his proportion in the male population: black men were 35.6 percent of all men in 1960 and 36.5 percent in 1970. Black women were 36.8 percent and 38.4 percent of all women in the two years: the job share data given previously suggests that black women are making slight progress in job acquisition. 12/ However, this last statistic is hardly encouraging as it may partially reflect the fact that an increasing proportion of Memphis' black households have a woman as the principal breadwinner.

Comparisons of occupational distributions calculated from EEO-1 data in 1966 and 1969 suggest that there were pressures after the mid-sixties which brought some improvement in the occupational status of black employees. Census data comparisons, 1960 to 1970, show about the same improvement and confirm that most of the improvement came about in the latter half of the decade. As usual the situation was mixed, with black women showing a better position relative to white women than do black men relative to white men, and also that they are closing ground faster. Table 2-2 presents summarizations and comparisons of these occupational data. For Memphis, it appears that the EEO-1 data used in the NES study quite adequately reflected the position of black workers.

Arvil Van Adams, in his earlier study of the Memphis labor market, singled out several industries of particular importance for attention. These are industries which are significant either because of their size or because of their growth characteristics. Public employment is of interest because it often is an accurate barometer of the attitudes of the community, through government, toward blacks. The industries chosen include two categories of manufacturing, chemicals and machinery, retail and wholesale trade, medical and health services, and public employment. Occupational distributions calculated from both EEO-1 data and from the Census samples are given in the tables: the Census data covering all firms basically confirm the conclusions drawn by Adams from large

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10/The 1970 data are private wage and salary workers with agricultural and private household workers removed. Government, self-employed, and unpaid family workers are also excluded.

11/Census of Population 1960, op. cit., Table 129. Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Table 186.

12/Census of Population 1960, op. cit., Table 96. Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Table 23.

firm data. 13/ (See Tables 2-3, 2-4, and 2-5.)

13/ This is to be expected if for no other reason than in most of these industries--retail trade is a possible exception--the majority of employees are in large firms.

Table 2-2
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, Memphis
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.1	12.3	1.4	11.9
Professional Technical	.8	6.7	2.2	8.8
Sales	2.5	11.1	2.2	11.2
Clerical	1.5	6.2	6.9	9.4
Craftsman	8.0	16.7	14.8	20.4
Operative	38.4	26.6	41.6	24.2
Laborer	36.9	14.9	18.3	8.3
Service	10.9	5.5	12.5	5.9
FEMALE				
Managerial	.9	2.5	1.0	3.3
Professional Technical	1.7	5.4	4.5	8.7
Sales	4.8	11.0	3.7	9.8
Clerical	9.0	37.9	15.3	40.6
Craftsman	.9	1.2	3.7	2.5
Operative	41.5	23.2	29.8	15.0
Laborer	14.4	7.0	3.3	1.6
Service	26.8	11.8	38.9	18.5

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 44, Tennessee, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office). U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports. The total employment represented by the EEO-1 data is: total males 79,504, black males 23,607, total females 40,365, black females 10,412. Census employment totals are: total males, 125,877, black males 34,851, total females 77,108, black females 20,349.

Table 2-3
Comparison of Occupational Distributions
State and Local Government Employment, Memphis SMSA
1967 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation	1967 Civil Rights		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White[1]
Administrators and managers	.7	15.2	1.9	5.7
Professional and technical	11.3	23.2	31.1	42.7
Office and clerical	4.4	17.7	8.2	19.8
Craftsmen and operatives	6.7	35.6	14.5	12.5
Laborers	47.4	1.6	10.9	1.2
Service workers	29.4[2]	6.7	33.5[3]	18.2[3]

[1] White was calculated as a residual, thus including all other races except black.

[2] Total adds to 99.9 because of rounding.

[3] Total adds to 100.1 because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. The 1967 percentages were calculated from tables presented in Adams, op. cit., with employee counts cumulated over Tennessee state government, Shelby County, and Memphis city government. The Civil Rights Commission data are not broken by sex: the number of employees was 13,355 of which 5,185 were black. The 1970 percentages were calculated from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 44, Tennessee, Table 173, pp. 679-84 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office). Total state and local government employment in the Memphis SMSA was 36,006, of which 13,800 were black.

Table 2-4
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions in Selected Trade and Service Industries, Memphis SMSA
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation	Wholesale and retail trade[1]				Medical and health services[2]			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
MALE								
Managerial, professional, technical	3.4	31.0	3.2	24.3	3.6	49.9	0.0	50.0
Sales, clerical, craftsmen	15.7	49.6	26.7	50.7	1.9	18.8	0.0	23.5
Operative, laborer, service	80.9	19.4	70.1	25.0	94.5	31.3	100.0	26.4
FEMALE								
Managerial, professional, technical	1.4	7.1	2.1	8.0	13.0	49.2	3.3	41.6
Sales, clerical, craftsmen	55.1	81.1	29.5	71.0	4.5	25.6	6.6	23.6
Operative, laborer, service	43.5	11.8	68.4	21.0	82.5	25.2	90.2	34.8

[1] The black job share, EEO-1 data, in these industries is males, 24.6 percent, females, 8.0 percent. The Census sample included 640 white males, 221 black males, 693 white females, and 193 black females.

[2] The black job share. EEO-1 data, in these industries is males, 31.8 percent, females, 26.4 percent. The Census sample included 34 white males, 10 black males, 178 white females, and 61 black females.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 2-5
Comparison of Occupational Distributions in Selected Manufacturing Industries, Memphis SMSA 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation and sex	Food and kindred products1/				Lumber and wood products 2/				Chemicals and machinery 3/			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
MALE												
Managerial, professional, technical	1.1	25.3	0.0	11.5	.5	28.1	0.0	17.3	1.8	27.5	4.4	27.9
Sales, clerical, craftsman	10.8	44.0	17.6	37.1	12.6	38.4	25.0	29.3	6.6	38.6	13.3	42.1
Operative, laborer, service	88.1	30.7	82.4	51.3	86.9	33.5	75.1	63.5	91.6	33.9	82.2	29.8
FEMALE												
Managerial, professional, technical	1.8	2.3	0.0	0.0	.0	6.5	4.2	10.5	.0	4.2	0.0	8.0
Sales, clerical, craftsman	13.6	39.9	25.0	38.9	3.6	76.0	25.0	78.9	13.5	61.5	8.8	36.7
Operative, laborer, service	84.6	57.8	75.0	61.0	96.4	17.5	70.9	10.5	86.5	34.3	91.1	55.2

[1] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is males, 40.8 percent, females, 16.4 percent. The Census sample data included 78 white males, 51 black males, 41 white females, 8 black females.

[2] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is males, 65.4 percent, females, 59.2 percent. The Census sample data included 41 white males, 48 black males, 19 white females, 24 black females.

[3] The black job share in these industries is males, 23.0 percent, females, 13.9 percent. The Census sample data included 154 white males, 45 black males, 87 white females, and 34 black females.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

CHAPTER 3

HOUSTON SMSA

The 1970 Houston SMSA population stood first in the South and thirteenth in the United States. It is also growing rapidly, increasing by 112 percent to 1,985,031 between 1950 and 1970. There are two sizeable minorities: Mexican-Americans and blacks, with blacks making up about 20 percent of the present population following two decades of steady in-migration from rural Texas and western and southern Louisiana. Rapid population growth is expected to continue and the minority share to increase.

There are five counties in the Houston SMSA, but Harris County, which holds the City of Houston, has nearly 88 percent of the total population. The land area covers 6,258 square miles, 447 in the city itself. Blacks are, as usual, concentrated in the central core, and though there is no single black ghetto, most of the black population is located in three well-defined low income areas. The largest enclave, near the heart of town, contains about 15 percent of the city's population and has the greatest concentration of blacks. It retains, along with the other low income areas, many undesirable characteristics because Houston lacks zoning laws which would have enabled it to participate in Federal programs for public housing and urban renewal. 2/

Blacks were 25 percent of the 1970 Houston city population, but they made up over half the poor: in numbers, there were 93,138 black poor out of the total poor population of 171,637 and the total black population of 313,202. 3/ Not surprisingly , the black labor force is over-represented in the unemployed and under-employed, and a significant number of fully employed blacks work at jobs that do not pay enough to pull them above the poverty level. 4/ In 1970 the mean income of black families was $6,980, about 50 percent that of whites. The median income of black families was 64.7 percent that of all families in 1970, a 15 percent increase over the comparable 1960 figure. 5/

1/Vernon Briggs, The Houston Labor Market. Vol. 1 of Negro Employment in the South (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p.7.

2/Ibid., p. 4.

3/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 45, Texas, Tables 90 and 95 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

4/Briggs, op. cit., p. 14. Professor Briggs has a fairly complete review of the employment characteristics of the black labor force.

5/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, Part 45, Texas, Tables 76 and 78 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

The lack of adequate public transportation has been a serious barrier to employment opportunities for blacks in suburban manufacturing: this problem is particularly acute in a sprawling labor market like Houston. And it is getting worse, as the largest employers are increasingly far from the centers of black population.

"In key areas of social policy, Texas in general and Houston in particular have emulated the prevailing attitudes of the South."6/ It follows that progressive social legislation is strongly lacking. Texas had no minimum wage law until 1969 and is a "right-to-work" state, which underscores the minimal role assumed by the labor movement in local political affairs. 7/ Houston itself has a citywide system of electing officials, which effectively limits black political action--the Mayor and all eight members of the council were white as recently as 1970--but blacks have begun to participate in a mass way in the political process since the civil rights anti-poll tax legislation of the sixties. Inevitably school desegregation has moved slowly in such a milieu: in 1969 only 16 percent of black students and 14 percent of white students were attending desegregated schools. 8/ Texas also has a constitutional bar on welfare payments, and has consequently been restricted in its ability to match Federal welfare funds. In short, the legal, social, and moral climate has not been favorable toward resolution of the problems that befall poor people in general and poor black people in particular, and Briggs cannot refrain from the parting shot, "In welfare legislation, Texas has attained national notoriety for its insensitivity to social needs." 9/

Employment Patterns

The employment data in Table 3-1 reflect the industrial composition of the Houston SMSA. The two columns show, one, estimates of the Texas Employment Commission used by Vernon Briggs in his study of the Houston labor market, and, two, data from the 1970 Census of Population.

Firms large enough to report EEO-1 data show black men holding 14.1 percent of male jobs in the private, nonagricultural sector of the labor market in 1969 and black women 14.6 percent of female jobs. Census data, 10/

6/Briggs, op. cit., p. 4

7/Houston AFL-CIO officials estimate that only 15 percent of the labor market is organized. Ibid., p. 25

8/Ibid, p. 19

9/Ibid, p. 2.

10/The 1970 data are private wage and salary workers with agricultural and private household workers removed. Government, self-employed, and unpaid family workers are also excluded.

Table 3-1

Estimated Employment for the Houston SMSA, 1970

Employment status and industry	Texas Employment Commission	1970 Census 2/
Total civilian labor force	875,700	822,000
Unemployed	15,800 1/	24,600
Employed	859,900	797,400
Agriculture	7,100	5,480
Manufacturing	147,100	158,880
Mining	30,750	22,500
Construction	83,600	64,110
Transportation, communications, utilities	67,750	55,930
Wholesale and retail trade	205,450	162,180
Finance, insurance, and real estate	43,750	39,690
Services	186,050	144,030 3/
Government	88,350	86,470

1/ Includes 500 idled by labor disputes.

2/ Except for government, industry employment data represent private wage and salary workers.

3/ Services includes business and repair services, personal services, entertainment, recreation services, professional and related services.

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 45, Texas, Tables 164 and 186 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

on the other hand, show 15.2 percent for black men in 1970 and 17.3 percent for black women. These percents differ slightly from 16.4 and 16.1, respectively, in 1960. 11/ Apparently the black worker's share of the employment in Houston is somewhat dependent on firm size as the "all firm" Census data display. As is typical, the black's job share is less than his proportion of the population, black males representing 18.9 percent of the male population. For black women, the percentage is 19.6. 12/

Occupational distributions calculated from EEO-1 data in 1969 and Census data in 1970 for the entire SMSA are given in Table 3-2. The Census distribution is close enough to that relied on by Briggs to confirm his pessimistic view of the black's position in the labor market: it reveals that blacks are as bad off in small firms as they are in large firms. Census data comparisons also show some slight improvement between 1960 and 1970, as do EEO-1 comparisons between 1966 and 1969, suggesting that most of the change took place following the Civil Rights legislation of the mid-sixties.

Professor Briggs singled out several of the largest Houston industries for special attention. They were chemicals, which reported more employees on its EEO-1 forms than any other Houston industry, non-electrical machinery manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, medical service, food and kindred products, and government. The EEO-1 and Census reinforce each other, and indicate that such small firms as function in these industries employ blacks at about the same job levels as do their larger counterparts. (See Tables 3-3, 3-4, and 3-5.)

11/Census of Population 1960, op. cit., Table 129; Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Table 186.

Table 3-2
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, Houston SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.1	12.4	1.8	10.7
Professional Technical	2.8	19.4	3.0	14.8
Sales	3.7	8.9	1.9	8.6
Clerical	3.6	7.0	6.2	7.4
Craftsman	10.5	19.9	16.8	24.3
Operative	37.6	19.9	34.8	21.0
Laborer	26.8	7.9	21.9	7.9
Service	14.1	4.9	13.5	5.4
FEMALE				
Managerial	0.6	2.3	1.5	3.7
Professional Technical	11.6	11.4	8.6	11.4
Sales	7.9	15.2	5.2	10.5
Clerical	17.7	48.4	20.3	45.3
Craftsman	1.6	1.4	1.9	1.9
Operative	10.7	5.8	13.4	7.4
Laborer	8.6	2.9	2.6	1.2
Service	41.2	12.7	46.5	18.5

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 45, Texas, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 3-3
Comparison of Occupational Distributions in Selected Manufacturing Industries in Houston
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation[4/]	Chemicals[1/]				Nonelectrical machinery[2/]				Food and kindred products[3/]			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Managerial, professional, technical	5.4	37.3	0.0	29.5	3.1	28.0	4.1	16.9	2.6	21.9	7.3	11.3
Sales, clerical, craftsmen	14.6	33.4	10.3	38.2	21.9	49.2	34.2	49.8	12.0	47.8	18.2	39.0
Operative, laborer, service	80.0	29.3	89.7	32.3	75.1	22.8	61.6	33.3	85.4	30.3	74.5	49.7

[1/] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is 6.0 percent. The Census sample data included 505 whites and 29 blacks.

[2/] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is 12.4 percent. The Census sample data included 490 whites and 73 blacks.

[3/] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is 23.9 percent. The Census sample data included 195 whites and 55 blacks.

[4/] Briggs does not disaggregate by sex. Since a major purpose of this study is to compare distributions out of Census data with those used by Briggs, the Census data are also not disaggregated.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 3-4
Comparison of Occupational Distributions in Selected Trade and Service Industries in Houston
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation[3]	Wholesale and retail trade[1]				Medical and health services[2]			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Managerial, professional, technical	2.4	20.0	3.2	11.4	22.4	53.7	17.0	37.5
Sales, clerical, craftsmen	32.3	61.6	29.1	59.3	7.8	24.5	9.2	26.9
Operative, laborer, service	65.3	12.3	67.7	29.3	69.7	21.8	73.8	35.5

[1] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is 12.7 percent. The Census sample data included 4,007 whites and 749 blacks.

[2] The black job share in this industry, EEO-1 data, is 32.8 percent. The Census sample data included 650 whites and 206 blacks.

[3] Briggs does not disaggregate by sex. Since a major purpose of this study is to compare distributions out of Census data with those used by Briggs, the Census data are also not disaggregated.

SOURCE: U.S. EQual Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 3-5
Comparison of Occupational Distributions State and Local Government Employment, Houston 1967 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and 1970 Census Data

[in percent]

Occupation	1967 Civil Rights		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White[1/]
Officials and managers	1.4	12.6	2.4	5.9
Professional and technical	2.7	15.7	34.8	47.1
Office and clerical	4.8	22.3	11.5	15.9
Craftsmen and operatives	23.9	39.9	13.6	9.8
Laborers	60.8	6.0	8.4	2.5
Service workers	6.4	3.4[2/]	29.3	18.7

[1/] White was calculated as a residual, thus including all other races except black.

[2/] Total adds to 99.9 because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. The Civil Rights Commission percentages were calculated from tables presented in Briggs, op. cit., with employee counts from the Houston city government. There was no breakdown by sex. Of the 8,417 employees represented, 1,608 (19.1 percent) were black. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 45, Texas, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

CHAPTER 4

MIAMI SMSA

The Miami SMSA includes all of Dade County, Florida. It had a population of 1,268,000 in 1970, up from 935,047 in 1960. 1/ Knowledgeable Miamians express doubt about the accuracy of official statistics on the black population, but the 1970 Census shows 196,000 blacks, which was 15.5 percent of the 1970 population. The largest concentration of black housing, though it is not a ghetto in the usual sense, holds about 40 percent of the black population. It, along with other 25 clusters2/ of blacks which have more than 1,000 people, is characterized by dilapidated, high density housing in the all too familiar pattern. These clusters are more remote from the central business district than are the areas taken over by the Cuban community, which in 1970 numbered 135,000--68.8 percent the size of the black population.

In 1960 the median income of black families was $3,368, 63 percent of the overall median of $5,348; by 1970 the black mean had grown to $6,794 but was still far below the white mean of $13,116. As late as 1968 over 34 percent of families in the largest black district in Miami had incomes less than $3,000. State and local government do less than most in meeting social problems; Florida is 29th in per capita income but 36th in percentage of per capita income spent on education; 38th in expenditures by State and local public welfare agencies on child welfare services; 48th among states in AFDC per family. Miami is better than the state as a whole in welfare payments, but still quite low relative to the need.

The 1960 Census reported that median years of schooling for all adult Dade Countians3/ was 11.5 years, but only 7.9 for blacks; by 1970 the figures had changed only to 12.1 and 9.4. 4/ Dade County is better than the state as a whole, with whites above the national average for whites, and blacks only slightly below the national average for blacks. Dade County is recognized in Florida as the leader in education, but it has done little to alleviate disparities between blacks and whites. The system was still basically segregated at the time of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported, in the 1965-55 school year 91.4 percent of black elementary pupils were attending

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1/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, Part 11, Florida, Table 21 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

2/Truett, Dale, "The Miami Labor Market," p.1. Unpublished mimeographed study available from the Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

3/Twenty-five years old or older.

4/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 11, Florida, Table 148 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

schools that were more than 90 percent black and 93.4 percent of black teachers were in schools where at least 90 percent of the students were black. "School administration data show that in the 1967-68 school year, most schools were either overwhelmingly white or overwhelmingly black and that 41 schools were virtually all black." 5/ In 1969 HEW reviewed the system and declared it out of compliance with the Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; pressure for desegregation became strong from the U.S. District Court. There was the usual evidence that separate was not equal, and Truett found that the "data not only show that students in predominantly black elementary schools are sadly outmatched by their white counterparts, but that the situation worsens in the higher grades." 6/

Further, testing and counseling professionals dealing with blacks at the Miami Opportunity Center have found them woefully lacking in verbal and mathematical skills, even though nonverbal intelligence tests show them to be quite intelligent. "We give them IQ tests that do not require verbal skills, and, as a group, they average 96 to 98 just like anyone else. But you throw them a verbal test and they flunk it cold." 7/ Professionals, both in and out of the school system, blamed the quality of black education, and militant black leaders made a strong indictment of the system to Truett.

> Our educational system, and particularly the black school, is designed to turn out mop swingers and broom pushers, and that's what they are turning out--mop swingers and broom pushers. Most Negro kids don't even believe that they can do something else, unless it's hustle women or hustle dope. 8/

The Miami metropolitan area is sprawling, and the location of the twenty odd clusters of black housing is not advantageous for black employment. The better jobs associated with existing and expanding industrial and tourist sites are far removed from pockets of black population, and the transportation network is set up to facilitate travel and reduce travel time from middle income residential areas into and out of downtown business districts. Public transportation helps little, as low income workers trying to move cross town in the central city have to spend two, three, or four hours a day in transit, and at a cost of nearly $2. As is true in most metropolitan areas, industrial growth is taking place on the urban perimeter a long way from where blacks live, suggesting that the situation will hardly improve in the near future.

Dade County has had, since 1957, a metropolitan form of government with County Commissioners as the primary policy-making body and a

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5/Truett, op. cit., p. 8

6/Ibid., p. 87. There is a complete discussion of the education problems of blacks in Miami in this section of Truett's report.

7/Interview with representative of Florida State Employment Service, Miami Opportunity Center, Miami, July 17, 1968, reported by Truett, op. cit. p. 87

8/Ibid.

County Manager as the chief executive. There are 27 incorporated municipalities in the metropolitan area, each with a mini-establishment, but the largest black area is unincorporated and has limited representation on the major policy-making bodies affecting it. In fact, even though Dade County blacks do have some voice in local politics, they are poorly organized, and the old line black organizations--Urban League, NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference--are losing ground in the black community to more militant groups.

The white community in Miami is not insensitive to race relations, and there has been considerable dialogue with regard to race questions. But the usual problems exist. According to Truett

> Perhaps the appropriate view would be that discrimination and prejudice in Miami are of the Northern variety rather than the Southern. Thus, a good deal of lip service is paid to the concept of racial equality, while, at the same time, gross inequalities continue to exist. Nowhere is the latent racism of many whites so evident as it is in the area of housing . . . In the business community, there is widespread endorsement for Negroes, but the proportion of businessmen who are really willing to go out and work for those ideals appears to be quite small . . . Of far greater concern than the totally negative attitude of some unenlightened whites toward Negro equality in employment or anywhere else is the shallowness of commitment exhibited by those whites who envision themselves as 'concerned'. 9/

These forces all worked against the black's position in the Miami labor market, and as though these were not enough, the great influx of Cubans who fled the Castro government, made matters worse. EEO-1 data provide almost conclusive evidence that this is true: the Cubans required higher entry level jobs and moved up more rapidly in the occupational structure. They also captured a disproportionate share of new jobs in the SMSA. There were several reasons for this: many were upper class, well educated people, and highly qualified for the kinds of jobs they were willing to accept; their language difficulties, though sometimes severe, were hardly more critical than those of culturally deprived blacks who were lacking in minimal verbal skills; they were considered white, which fitted them for certain visible jobs that were traditionally denied blacks; many reached managerial levels and were able to discriminate in favor of their countrymen in hiring. "It is difficult to avoid the overall conclusion that the upward mobility of Negroes has been hampered by the presence of the Cuban refugee in the Miami labor market." 10/

9/*Ibid*., pp. 104-5.

10/*Census of Population 1970*, op. cit., Tables 85, 92, 98.

Black Employment Patterns

The nonwhite civilian labor force in Dade County in 1960 was 61,567. This was 16.1 percent of the total labor force even though nonwhites were only 12.9 percent of the total population and reflects higher participation rates than the overall average of both sexes: 80.5 percent for nonwhite males to 75.3 percent for all females. They had changed to 79.1 and 71.8 percent for nonwhite males by 1970, and to 52.3 and 44.0 percent for nonwhite females. 11/ As is usual, unemployment rates for blacks were higher than for whites throughout the period.

Employment data from both the Census and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reflect Miami's status as a resort and tourist center. The area economy is consequently more service oriented than most, and occupational data exhibit the low quality of jobs held by blacks in the labor market. Laborer was the leading classification for nonwhite males in both sets of data, and the bottom three classifications--laborer, service, operatives--catch four-fifths of them. The Census data show one-half of black women classified as private household workers; there is no basis for comparison of this number with large firm EEO-1 data, but even there 44 percent were listed in the service category. There was a rise in the number of nonwhite professionals in Dade County in the 1960's, attributable, in part, according to Truett, to the rapid increase in the black population which carries along an increased demand for the services of black teachers, ministers, doctors, and the like. The occupational distributions, taken as a whole, reveal a heavy concentration of blacks at the low end of the occupational structure, with little improvement in the entire post-World War II period. 12/ In fact, improvement is rather less in Miami than in the other SMSA's, most probably due to the presence of Cubans who are direct competition with blacks for the better jobs that have traditionally been open to minorities.

Data available to Truett made the development of occupational distributions in government very difficult. However, he made use of studies by the Miami University Center for Urban Studies and by the Dade County Personnel Office, 13/ together with interviews of public officials, to put together a reasonably complete picture of black employment in the public sector. He found that the County itself employed blacks at all levels, including professional and technical, and is known in the black community as a "good employer," that blacks were proportionately represented in the school system but reached top administrative positions only in segregated black schools and that 60 percent of custodial work was done by blacks, and that the Miami City government, largest of the public employers, utilized blacks in traditional inferior jobs and was doing

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11/Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Tables 85, 92, 98.

12/Data from the 1950 Census of Population are included in Truett's report. They are very little different from the 1960 data.

13/Study was made at the request of Dr. Warren Banner of the National Urban League.

Table 4-1

Estimated Employment of the Miami SMSA, 1970
Employment Status and Industry, 1970 Census 1/

Total civilian labor force	533,000
Unemployed	20,000
Employed	513,000
Agriculture	5,993
Manufacturing	73,483
Mining	588
Construction	30,992
Transportation, communication, utilities	50,549
Wholesale and retail trade	110,528
Finance, insurance, real estate	30,678
Services 2/	113,860
Government	61,253

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[1] Except for government, industry employment data represent private wage and salary workers.

[2] Services includes business and repair services, personal services, entertainment and recreational services, professional and related services.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 11, Florida, Tables 164 and 166 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

little to upgrade them. Finally, blacks were having problems with state and Federal employment, perhaps because of entry level requirements, and of 513 Dade County blacks employed in 1967 by the Federal government 484 were in the lowest pay grade. Truett concludes with the rather pessimistic observation: . . . at every level of government employment, civil service requirements and equity dictate that all applicants, regardless of race, meet the same minimum standards. Much more information is needed regarding the cultural nature of present standards and the manner in which they might be altered to improve job accessibility for minority groups. 14/

14/Truett, op. cit., p. 84.

Table 4-2

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data [1]

Private Nonagricultural Employment, Miami SMSA

[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.7	12.9	2.5	12.5
Professional Technical	1.7	13.3	2.5	10.6
Sales	4.1	11.9	2.5	10.6
Clerical	2.9	6.7	5.2	8.6
Craftsman	9.4	20.7	17.0	24.0
Operative	26.3	13.8	27.0	15.7
Laborer	28.4	8.3	26.6	7.9
Service	25.5	12.5	16.8	10.2
FEMALE				
Managerial	1.3	3.8	1.2	3.8
Professional-Technical	5.9	9.0	4.9	8.6
Sales	7.2	15.5	4.7	8.9
Clerical	22.4	40.5	23.3	39.5
Craftsman	1.0	1.8	2.0	2.3
Operative	12.6	8.1	19.6	18.0
Laborer	9.1	5.0	2.0	.8
Service	40.4	16.3	42.5	18.1

[1] Truett's census data are modified to delete agricultural employment, household workers, and those who did not report their occupations, in order to make the distributions comparable with EEO-1 distributions. Were the deletions considered, the black employment picture is even bleaker; for example, almost exactly half the employed black females who reported their occupations were private household workers.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population 1970*, Vol. 1, Part 11, Florida, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 4-3
Comparison of Occupational Distributions in Miami, 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation and sex	Wholesale trade[1]				Retail trade[2]			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Male								
Managerial	2.0	13.4	0.0	18.8	5.2	20.6	5.1	12.3
Professional	.1	2.9	} 2.1	} 3.0	.4	1.8	} .7	} 3.2
Technical	.9	7.6			.2	5.1		
Sales	3.8	25.7	4.2	27.7	11.8	26.9	8.0	24.4
Clerical	3.1	6.9	6.3	11.1	3.2	6.2	8.0	8.2
Craftsmen	7.0	10.8	0.0	16.0	6.4	6.2	5.8	12.5
Operative	42.6	20.6	60.4	16.3	20.4	11.8	27.7	13.4
Laborer	33.5	9.9	20.8	5.7	13.6	10.2	12.4	9.4
Service	7.0	2.2	6.3	1.4	38.9	11.2	32.1	16.6
Female								
Managerial	.0	1.8	0.0	4.4	3.7	7.9	1.0	5.3
Professional	.0	1.4	} 0.0	} 3.8	.3	.8	} 1.0	} 1.3
Technical	.0	.8			.9	1.2		
Sales	.0	1.6	5.6	6.0	36.0	45.7	25.2	32.7
Clerical	32.8	66.2	33.3	62.8	21.8	30.8	24.3	31.1
Craftsmen	11.9	4.3	5.6	3.3	3.0	1.0	1.9	.8
Operative	19.4	16.9	50.0	18.6	4.0	2.0	12.6	5.1
Laborer	28.4	6.6	0.0	1.1	6.0	3.2	1.0	.4
Service	7.5	.5	5.6	0.0	24.4	7.3	33.0	23.3

[1] The EEO-1 data cover 4,809 males, 16.9 percent black, and 1,236 females, 5.4 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 416 males, 11.5 percent black, and 201 females, 9.0 percent black.

[2] The EEO-1 data cover 4,239 males, 13.2 percent black, and 8,248 females, 8.9 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 1,171 males, 11.7 percent black, 1,257 females, 8.2 percent black.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 4-4. Comparison of Occupational Distributions in Miami, 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Occupation and sex	Finance, insurance, and real estate[1]				Air transportation[2]				Hotels and Other Lodging Places[3]			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Male												
Managerial	2.7	30.2	0.0	19.1	.8	11.4	0.0	5.1	.7	6.3	0.0	11.4
Professional	1.3	10.3	0.0	7.2	.5	19.5	8.0	21.4	.0	.6	0.0	10.5
Technical	.0	1.6			.1	3.4			.3	.5		
Sales	26.0	32.4	12.5	43.3	1.6	4.6	0.0	1.1	.0	.9	0.0	.4
Clerical	24.2	20.1	6.3	16.0	2.4	6.0	0.0	18.2	1.2	5.3	0.0	12.3
Craftsmen	1.3	.2	6.3	3.1	4.7	34.8	12.0	45.8	2.4	3.8	4.5	5.3
Operative	3.1	.3	0.0	2.4	32.1	10.4	0.0	2.4	7.2	5.6	9.1	3.5
Laborer	3.1	.1	6.3	.7	31.5	4.7	24.0	3.8	17.1	9.4	9.1	1.3
Service	38.1	4.7	68.8	8.2	26.3	5.3	56.0	2.2	71.0	67.6	77.3	55.3
Female												
Managerial	1.5	3.9	4.2	6.7	.0	2.1	[4]	0.0	.9	3.0	2.3	7.7
Professional	.0	.8	0.0	1.6	.0	2.3		5.5	.0	.2	0.0	3.9
Technical	.0	.5			.0	1.0			.0	.0		
Sales	.5	1.3	4.2	12.6	31.9	33.7		1.4	.0	1.9	0.0	.6
Clerical	85.8	92.5	58.3	76.2	19.4	31.6		43.8	2.2	21.7	4.7	27.1
Craftsmen	.0	.0	0.0	.2	.0	.7		3.4	.9	.7	0.0	0.0
Operative	.0	.0	0.0	.2	6.9	.4		.7	.9	1.8	0.0	1.1
Laborer	.0	.1	0.0	0.0	25.0	.8		0.0	6.4	2.6	0.0	0.0
Service	12.2	.9	33.3	2.5	16.7	27.5		45.2	88.8	68.1	93.0	59.7

[1] The EEO-1 data cover 5,391 males, 4.1 percent black, and 5,364 females, 3.7 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 309 males, 5.2 percent black, and 469 females, 5.1 percent black.

[2] The EEO-1 data cover 20,505 males, 7.3 percent black, and 6,261 females, 2.3 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 394 males, 6.3 percent black, and 146 females, 0.0 percent black. Eastern Airlines and National Airlines have national headquarters in Miami and Pan American has a regional office there. Eighteen percent of all reported EEO-1 employment was in this SIC in 1969.

[3] The EEO-1 data cover 6,025 males, 9.6 percent black, and 3,358 females, 13.6 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 250 males, 8.8 percent black, and 224 females, 19.2 percent black.

[4] There were no black females reported in sample.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

CHAPTER 5

LOUISVILLE SMSA

The Louisville SMSA is composed of Jefferson County, Kentucky, and Clark and Floyd counties, in Indiana, and has a population of 826,553 in 1970, up from 725,139 in 1960. The black population was 12.2 percent of the total; this had changed from 83,181 and 11.5 percent in 1960. Much of this growth was due to normal increase of the resident black population, as rural Kentucky had few blacks to migrate into the city and blacks from the deep South usually headed farther North or West.

Louisville is small enough, and the black population, in turn, a small enough proportion of the total, to preclude the development of a huge ghetto in the sense of major eastern and midwestern cities. However, Louisville housing patterns are basically segregated, and blacks, not unexpectedly, are largely confined to low income areas in the West End. Most blacks, in fact, live in the Poverty Target Areas set up in the Louisville SMSA. [1] Census data for 1970 show 31.9 percent of the black population living below the poverty level: though only 12.2 percent of the SMSA population they make up 34.3 percent of the poor. [2] The black income position relative to whites improved only slightly between 1960 and 1970; in 1960 the black family median of $3,402 was 59.1 percent of the $5,758 median of all families, and in 1970 the black median, $6,342, was 64.6 percent of the median $9,814 for all families in the SMSA. [3]

Fortunately for black employment prospects, Louisville's West End is a major center of the city's distilling and tobacco industries, and downtown Louisville, where government facilities, hospitals, office buildings, and service industries in general are centered, is within walking distance of large areas of black housing. Consequently black employment, dispersed from the center of the West End outward toward the city's perimeter, has not been impeded by inadequate transportation to the extent that it has in the other SMSA's, though 20 percent of the black labor force--presumably unskilled workers who must accept low wage jobs some distance from home--find travel time and expense to be a real barrier.

The 1960 Census shows that Louisville blacks had a lower median educational level, 8.6 years, than did the general population, 9.9 years. They still lagged in 1970, 10.2 to 11.3. [4] But averages don't tell the

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[1] John Mead, "Negro Employment In Louisville", report to the Negro Employment in the South Project (mimeographed), p. 14.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 19, Kentucky, Tables 90 and 95 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, Part 19, Kentucky, Table 139 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office); Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Tables 89, 94, 100.

[4] Census of Population 1970, op. cit., Table 148.

the whole story: the Louisville Employment Security Office, as recently as 1969, classified 40 percent of black applicants as disadvantaged and only 12 percent of whites, and 61 percent of blacks were seeking entry level jobs. Further, according to Mead, the gap is widened by differences in quality.

> No objective measure of educational quality exists, but one school official estimated, unofficially, that a graduate of Central High School (a Negro school) was at least three and a half years behind an Atherton High School (the best school) and about a year and a half behind an average Louisville white high school graduate. 5/

The Louisville School Board has made a strong attempt to close the gap by shooting at a standard of 65 percent white and 35 percent black in all schools, but that cannot be done without considerable busing and the issue in the fall of 1974 was still embroiled in controversy. Considering the depth of the opposition, it seems highly unlikely that anything resembling precise proportionality will be achieved.

Louisville labor is highly unionized. Over 80 percent of employers in manufacturing industries have collective bargaining agreements, and the building trades are well covered by craft unions. The impact of the unions on black employment is mixed and varies from industry to industry. Blacks have had difficulty getting jobs on the railroads, and a railway union, together with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, was charged by two blacks with seniority and line of progression discrimination: blacks blamed the unions for loss of seniority when transferred from one division to another by a large tobacco processor; blacks have problems meeting the apprenticeship requirements in the building trades, and as a result, several building trades unions did not have a single member in 1969. 6/ Right or wrong, Louisville blacks hold the opinion that some unions, if not most unions, negotiate bargaining agreements that are loaded with devices that keep them from getting, and gaining seniority in, the best jobs.

Louisville blacks have not had to be concerned about the right to vote for many years, and there have been black officials in local government and black representatives from Louisville in the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky for many years. But effective collective action toward full racial equality has been sadly lacking, largely due to the lack of cohesiveness in the black community. Only 18 percent of Louisville's blacks belong to any civil rights group, even though the majority of them are sympathetic with group aims, and Mead's statistics indicate that fewer than one-half would actively participate in a civil

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5/Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 13
6/*Ibid.*, p. 15.

rights confrontation even if it involved such nonviolent means as boycotting a store, marching in a demonstration, taking part in a sit-in, or going quietly to jail.[7] In view of this attitude, it is not surprising that the most influential individuals in the black community are middle-class moderates who seem satisfied to make haste slowly.

Black Employment Patterns

Ten industries--food and kindred products, tobacco manufactures, printing and publishing, chemicals and allied products, electrical machinery manufacturing- trucking and warehousing, wholesale trade, general merchandising, insurance, and medical and health services--dominated Louisville industry in 1969. Fifty-six percent of all employees covered by EEO-1 data were in them. In most of these industries the black share of jobs went up sharply between 1966 and 1969, suggesting that in Louisville, at least, large employers felt the pressure of having to report the race composition of their work force to the EEOC. In fact, the probability that the job share for black men would have increased in 9 of 10 industries as a purely random phenomena is remote, as is true for black women.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Table 5-1

Black Employment Share in Ten Largest Louisville Industries 1966 and 1969 EEO-1 Data [in percent]

Industry	1966		1969	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food and kindred products	6.6	2.8	8.6	3.0
Tobacco manufactures	9.7	9.9	14.8	15.2
Printing and publishing	9.3	2.1	10.5	5.9
Chemicals; allied products	11.3	2.0	11.3	5.4
Electrical machinery	6.0	2.3	7.7	6.3
Trucking; warehousing	4.0	3.3	4.5	4.6
Wholesale trade	7.4	12.4	8.5	10.9
General merchandising	8.3	4.4	9.6	5.7
Insurance	8.3	7.8	6.1	8.5
Medical, health services	21.1	11.3	23.2	15.1

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1966 and 1969.

Black men's share of employment in the ten leading industries varied from a low of 4.5 percent in trucking and warehousing to a high of 23.2 percent in medical and health services: for black women the low was 3.0 percent in food and kindred products and the high was 15.2 percent in tobacco manufactures. These differences in part reflect the occupational structures of the industries in question, but is difficult, according to Mead, to account objectively for the appalling black employment record of the electrical machinery and trucking warehouse industries. 8/

As is true in other southern SMSA's, both black men and black women were heavily under-represented in skilled and white-collar employment and heavily over-represented in laborer and service categories. However, the 1966 and 1969 EEO-1 data show some sharp gains for blacks over that rather short period, particularly as regards black women: the percent of black women in skilled and white-collar employment grew from 22.8 to 34.1 percent, but for black men the percent went only from 11.3 to 15.0 percent. Occupational distributions calculated from 1969 EEO-1 data and the 1970 Census reflect the concentration of both black men and black women in lower paying occupations, and also, as is usual, show that black women are in better position relative to white women than are black men relative to white men. (See Table 5-2.) Data for 1969 are shown in the table as they provide a closer comparison in time with the 1970 Census data, but 1966 EEO-1 data give a similar occupational picture: the black man's relative index of occupational position rose only from 76.2 to 76.8 percent in that three year period and that of black women from 86.5 to 87.6 percent. 9/

This is considerable broad agreement between occupational distribution in the 1969 EEO-1 data and in 1970 Census data. However, for men, there is evidence that Census respondents are more likely to call themselves "operatives" and craftsmen", as opposed to laborers, than are company employees who fill out EEO-1 reports, as this is an apparent shift out of the laborer category and in the other two in the Census reports. For women there is a similar jump in laborer and operative classes: black female operatives rise from 14.5 in EEO-1 data to 28.1 in the Census, but laborers fell from 20.3 to 3.5 for black women and from 12.7 to 1.6 for all women.

Occupational distributions for five of the ten largest industries are given below. The five are food and kindred products, tobacco manufacturers, chemicals and allied products , electrical machinery, and medical and health services. In all cases the occupational categories are grouped by threes to minimize sampling variation in the Census data, which is thin at this level of disaggregation for an SMSA as small as Louisville. They reflect persistent

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8/*Ibid*., p. 9.
9/Calculation of the index is described in Arvil V. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 15

concentrations of blacks at the lower end of the occupational structure, but it must be emphasized that the standard errors in the individual are large enough that the percentages should be taken as indicators not as absolutes. As an extreme example, the sample of black women in the "food and kindred services" industry was four, all were classified as operatives. Within the bounds set by such large sampling variances the Census data are broadly supportive of the EEO-1 percentages: at least they don't contradict them.

Mead found that employment opportunities for blacks in city and county government were substantially better than those in the private sector in the sixties. They were well represented in managerial, clerical, and skilled occupations in city, county, and combined city-county governmental agencies. (See Table 5-8 below). No comparable data on occupational status by race exists for state government, but 16.2 percent of the 2,208 state employees in Jefferson County in 1966 were black. 10/ In Federal employment blacks were concentrated in lower ratings in GS, wage board, and postal service pay plans, but some few reached the top brackets in all but the postal service. All in all, it's sad but true that the Federal service found blacks holding their own in the occupational structure about as well as they did anywhere.

10/Mead, op. cit., p. 11

Table 5-2
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, Louisville SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.4	10.8	1.5	9.2
Professional Technical	1.3	8.7	2.8	9.3
Sales	2.7	8.1	2.2	8.1
Clerical	2.1	5.9	4.7	7.8
Craftsman	7.5	18.0	13.2	23.1
Operative	33.1	27.2	39.1	28.9
Laborer	34.5	16.9	17.7	7.4
Service	17.4	4.3	18.9	6.1
FEMALE				
Managerial	.6	2.7	1.0	2.8
Professional Technical	5.8	6.6	6.8	9.7
Sales	4.8	13.2	3.5	9.4
Clerical	22.0	41.6	18.2	39.2
Craftsman	.8	.7	1.9	2.1
Operative	14.5	12.9	28.1	18.4
Laborer	20.3	12.7	3.5	1.6
Service	31.2	9.5	36.9	16.7

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population 1970*, Vol. 1, Part 19, Kentucky, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 5-3

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Food and Kindred Services, Louisville SMSA
(in percent)

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial, Professional technical	2.1	17.2	.0	12.4
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	10.8	32.7	13.3	29.4
Operative, Laborer, Service	87.0	50.1	86.6	58.2
WOMEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	1.6	2.4	.0	6.7
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	24.6	29.2	.0	26.6
Operative, Laborer Service	73.8	68.5	100.0	66.7

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The EEO-1 data cover 6,666 males, 8.7 percent black, and 2,050 females, 3.0 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 161 males, 9.3 percent black, and 109 females, 3.7 percent black.

Table 5-4

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data Tobacco Manufactures, Louisville SMSA (in percent)

	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
Sex and occupation	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	4.3	17.6	0.0	12.1
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	2.2	18.9	25.0	30.8
Operative, Laborer, Service	93.6	63.5	75.0	57.2
WOMEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	3.3	3.6	0.0	2.3
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	6.6	17.8	18.6	
Operative, Laborer, Service	90.2	78.7	83.4	79.1

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The EEO-1 data cover 5,349 males, 14.8 percent black, and 3 ,407 females, 15.2 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 99 males, 8.1 percent black, and 104 females, 17.3 percent black.

Table 5-5

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Chemicals and Allied Products, Louisville SMSA
(in percent)

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	2.8	27.9	15.8	25.8
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	8.2	32.5	10.6	40.0
Operative, Laborer Service	88.9	39.5	73.3	34.4
WOMEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	8.1	7.7	.0	10.3
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	67.6	89.1	50.0	69.0
Operative, Laborer Service	24.3	3.3	50.0	27.0

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The EEO-1 data cover 6,859 males, 11.3 percent black, and 684 females, 5.4 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 159 males, 11.9 percent black, and 31 females, 6.5 percent black.

Table 5-6

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Electrical Machinery Louisville SMSA
(in percent)

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	.6	17.8	9.1	20.8
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	1.8	15.5	9.1	30.8
Operative, Laborer, Service	97.5	66.7	81.8	48.4
WOMEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	9.9	33.8	16.7	29.2
Operative, Laborer, Service	90.1	64.6	83.3	70.9

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The EEO-1 data cover 16,859 males, 7.7 percent black, and 2,563 females, 6.3 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 189 males, 5.8 percent black, and 78 females, 8.3 percent black.

Table 5-7

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Medical and Health Services, Louisville SMSA
(in percent)

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	7.2	43.1	11.1	28.1
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	2.5	19.5	0.0	3.1
Operative, Laborer, Service	90.3	37.5	88.9	68.7
WOMEN				
Managerial, Professional, technical	23.0	40.3	11.4	34.3
Sales, Clerical, Craftsman	8.1	23.4	13.7	26.2
Operative, Laborer, Service	68.9	36.3	75.0	39.5

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The EEO-1 data cover 810 males, 24.1 percent black, and 3,656 females, 15.2 percent black. The corresponding figures for the Census are 41 males, 22.0 percent black, and 292 females, 15.1 percent black.

Table 5-8
Occupational Distribution of Black Employment in City and County Government Louisville SMSA, 1967
[in percent]

Occupation	Louisville City		Jefferson County		Combined	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Manager	2.8	8.1	4.1	10.0	21.6	26.6
Clerical	6.9	9.0	12.8	20.7	17.0	21.3
Skilled	35.7	68.1	29.1	57.3	30.3	36.7
Unskilled	54.6	14.8	54.1	11.9	31.1	15.4

SOURCE: Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission. Taken from Head, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The employment totals are: Louisville city blacks, 740, whites, 2,295; Jefferson County blacks, 172, whites, 1,097; combined agencies blacks, 264, whites 1,085. "Whites" in this table are total minus blacks.

Table 5-9

Federal Employment by Pay System
Louisville SMSA, 1969

Pay system and occupation rating	Black		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
General schedule				
GS-1 thru 4	319	68.6	1,446	33.5
GS-5 thru 8	103	22.2	1,082	25.1
GS-9 thru 11	41	8.8	1,146	26.5
GS-12 thru 18	2	.4	644	14.9
Wage board				
0-5,499	3	.8	33	1.4
5,500-6,999	218	60.2	357	14.8
7,000-7,999	81	22.4	541	22.4
8,000 and over	60	16.6	1,489	61.5
Postal field service				
PFS-1 thru 5	550	88.9	1,704	82.6
PFS-6 thru 9	65	10.5	302	14.6
PFS-10 thru 12	4	.6	46	2.2
PFS-13 thru 21	0	0.0	10	.5

SOURCE: U.S. Civil Service Commission. Taken from Mead, op. cit., p. 10.

CHAPTER 6

BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham is the largest SMSA in an area that includes Alabama, and the immediately contiguous parts of Tennessee, Mississippi, and northern Florida. Until 1967 the SMSA was coterminous with Jefferson County, but it expanded in that year to include Shelby and Walker counties. The SMSA population grew by only 18,067 between 1960 and 1970, though four large suburbs increased by nearly forty thousand, offsetting a considerable decrease in the central city. The black population as a proportion of the total has been decreasing steadily since 1920, falling from 37.8 percent to 29.5 percent in 1970. In fact, there was an absolute decrease of 13,000 blacks due to heavy out-migration between 1960 and 1970.

The 1957-58 nationwide recession had severe consequences for employment in Birmingham industry, which is unusually cycle-sensitive for a southern SMSA. The downtrend did not stop until 1963, and blacks, as usual, bore the brunt of the downturn. Extreme discrimination against them undoubtedly had an adverse effect on the stability and attitudes of the black community, and it is quite likely that the racial conflict of the early sixties owed much to the cycle sensitivity of the Birmingham economy. The tragic events of 1963, which drew national attention to the city, might well be traced in part to the economic slide between 1957 and 1963.

Birmingham, called by Rungeling and Ignatin the most segregated city in the South until the recent past, has housing patterns that reflect its racial attitudes. Nearly 90 percent of Birmingham's white families live in neighborhoods that are either all white or have twice as many whites as blacks: corollary to this, 75 percent of black families live in neighborhoods that are all black or have twice as many blacks as whites. 1/ Black neighborhoods have lower home values, more persons per household, and lower family income: they are closer to deteriorating areas downtown and to the sprawling, dirty industrial complexes outside. In 1970, blacks occupied 25.9 percent of the SMSA's housing units, but 61.5 percent of the overcrowded units, and 45 percent of those that lacked plumbing. Few live in "bedroom" suburbs that are close to new white collar jobs. Worse yet, the interstate urban expressway system accentuated employment problems for them, as it blocked off predominantly black neighborhoods from the rest of the city, and made the use of public transportation more time consuming. 2/

1/Brian S. Rungeling and George Ignatin, "Black Employment in Birmingham" (mimeographed), p. 13.

2/Employers interviewed by Rungeling and Ignatin refused to concede that the transportation problem is major, only about 13 percent of them believing that travel to work is a job deterrent for blacks, but the reasons they advanced seemed oriented toward auto travel, which leaves out a high percentage of black workers.

Not only transportation difficulties, but bad health conditions and segregated, low quality schooling go along with housing patterns like those faced by Birmingham blacks. In 1969 black males, age 25 to 44, showed 154.6 active TB cases per 100,000 population compared to 5.1 per 100,000 for whites--almost exactly 30 to 1--and of the nine most common diseases, blacks had a greater incidence in seven. 3/ The black infant mortality rate was 1.8 times that of whites. 4/

The schooling story in Birmingham is equally bad. Integration is proceeding slowly, under a barrage of court orders, but as late as 1969, fifteen years after the Brown decision, 19 of 68 Birmingham schools were 100 percent black, 35 were 100 percent white, and 14 were "integrated", if integrated means 351 black students and 3 white students scattered through schools of predominately the opposite color. The 1970 Census shows blacks with 9.7 median years of schooling compared to an SMSA median of 11.2, but that is not the whole story, and may be not the worst of it. 5/ Racial academic performance follows a familiar pattern. Blacks, beset by cultural deficiencies, scored somewhat below whites on academic aptitude tests at the first grade level, but over one-third of blacks were above the white median. However, the racial disparity increases sharply as the grade level rises. For example, relative to national norms, students in white Birmingham junior high schools ranged from one to five months behind national norms, students at black junior highs were in some cases nearly 2 years behind.

> Even though whites do not receive the quality education in Birmingham that they could achieve elsewhere, they still receive a better education than blacks . . . it is probable that a great deal of the 'discrimination' in employment in the Birmingham SMSA might be traced to this educational disparity. 6/

Labor unions can hardly be called, historically, a force for fair employment practices in Birmingham. The city has long been heavily unionized, due both to the industrial mix and to the fact that many big employers are parts of national firms which have bargaining agreements, and about one-fourth of the 100,000 union members in the SMSA in 1969 were black. But many were in laborers locals in the building trades, and still others were in auxiliary locals for blacks. Eighty-six percent of all black union members were in the United Steel Workers of America, and several of the highly skilled trades had no blacks. Typically, blacks were completely excluded from the railroad brotherhoods. During the 1960's, white unionists vigorously opposed equality in job opportunity, and though pressure by President Kennedy on U.S. Steel brought about a pact by 11 major steel

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3/Ironically, heart disease, increasingly associated with non-physical activity and the "easy" life, was one of the two in which whites led.

4/Rungeling and Ignatin, op. cit., p. 31

5/U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 2, Alabama, Table 148 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

6/Rungeling and Ignatin, op. cit., p. 31

companies to stop discrimination in that industry, few real changes occurred in Birmingham steel plants at that time. Even in circumstances where Birmingham unions adopted a pro civil rights posture they aimed at vague national objectives and had little impact on the Birmingham labor market. According to F. Ray Marshall, "the activities of the (USW) civil rights machinery were directed more at community civil rights programs than at internal union programs." 7/

All in all, the situation for Birmingham blacks at the end of the sixties was improving slowly. Nearly nineth percent of blacks themselves believe that things are getting better; community leaders increasingly point to improved race relations as a condition of growth; blacks hold seats on the city council; a bi-racial community affairs council is operative and functional. Seemingly a new atmosphere prevails, leading Rungeling and Ignatin to say that

> . . . the most important fact of the 1960's is that gradually, almost imperceptably, the 'establishment' of Birmingham underwent significant change. Whereas prior to 1960, Birmingham's affairs were controlled by people who had not bested interest in the growth of Birmingham's economy, today the 'establishment' consists of many men whose incomes increase as a direct function of population and income growth in the SMSA. 8/

In their opinion, community leadership realizes that growth will come about only through a healthy environment inhabited by healthy, skilled workers and shored up by a variety of government services--good schools, better transportation, more adequate welfare programs--provided by state and local government. Their optimism is based on the expectation that rational leadership will try to carry these programs out.

Employment Patterns

In a review of earlier studies of black employment in Birmingham, Rungeling and Ignatin reported that most males were locked into laborer and operative type jobs in mining, manufacturing, and transportation industries, and that black women were almost exclusively restricted to domestic or personal service occupations. No blacks were found in skilled occupations in the textiles, apparel, lumber, transportation equipment manufacturing, gas, electric, and water utilities, paper and paper products, cement, bedsprings and mattress manufacturing industries, and few reached skilled trades in the construction industry. 9/

7/F. Ray Marshall, The Negro and Organized Labor (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 187. Further discussion of the role opinions in the job information system, and on the job information system in total, can be found in Rungeling and Ignatin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42.

8/Rungeling and Ignatin, *op. cit.*,

9/*Ibid.*, p. 6 ff.

Birmingham has long been identified with the steel industry and, despite substantial growth in service, trade, and government, steel related industry--primary metals, fabricated metals, transportation equipment--remains very important. The industry has been accused of opposing growth and diversification of the city's economic base, and it has generally accepted community attitudes toward racial employment practices even though most Birmingham firms have strong non-southern ties. Even the Civil Rights Act of 1964 seemed to have had little impact on improving the occupational position of blacks relative to whites in the steel industry, though it did lead to the removal of such specific discriminatory practices as segregated cafeterias and restrooms. 10/

EEO-1 data (Table 6-2) aggregated over the whole SMSA confirm the low occupational status of blacks. The data in 1969 covered 122,867 persons--43 percent of total nonagricultural employment. Census data for 1970 are presented alongside for comparative purposes: they do little to modify the picture painted by the EEO-1 statistics.

Disaggregation of EEO-1 and 1970 data into specific industries reveals little that is different from the city-wide pattern. Nevertheless, changes in the occupational structure from industry to industry yields some information of interest and reinforces the notion that discrimination against blacks pervades the SMSA. The chosen industries are identified by Rungeling and Ignatin as among the ten most important employers in the city: they are primary metals, fabricated metals, transportation equipment, medical and health services, and banking (Table 6-3). Their system of classification calls for grouping the usual nine occupations into three large categories: white-collar--managers, professional, technical, sales, clerical; craftsmen; "dead-end" blue-collar--operative, laborer, service. That procedure is followed in the tables below for ease in comparing Census distributions with those they calculated.

There were no data available for Rungeling and Ignatin to calculate occupational distributions for blacks in government employment. But they were able to use Lynn Rittenoure's study of black employment in the Federal government to show that Birmingham blacks are locked in the lower echelons of the General Schedule--over 90 percent of them GS-8 or lower, as opposed to 52 percent whites--and are also concentrated in the lower grades of the Postal Field Service. 11/ Moreover, they found an incomparably worse situation in state government, with, statewide, blacks holding only 0.90 percent of white-collar jobs but 95.7 percent of blue-collar jobs. In fact, black employment procedures followed by the State of Alabama were bad enough to bring about litigation, and in one important case, the judge held that

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10/Richard Rowan, "Negro Employment in the Basic Steel Industry," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 23 (October 1969), p. 31

11/Lynn Rittenoure, "Negro Employment in the Federal Government" (Austin, Texas: Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas, mimeographed).

Table 6-1

Estimated Employment of the Birmingham SMSA, 1970

Employment status and industry[1]	1970 Census
Total civilian labor force	281,000
Unemployed	12,000
Employed	269,000
Agriculture	1,826
Manufacturing	64,331
Mining	4,663
Construction	11,921
Transportation, communication, and utilities	19,692
Wholesale and retail trade	54,248
Finance, insurance and real estate	13,927
Services[2]	47,558
Government	35,140

[1] Except for Government, industry employment data represent private wage and salary workers.

[2] Services includes business and repair services, personal services, entertainment and recreational services, and professional and related services.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 2 ,Alabama , Tables 164 and 166 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 6-2

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, Birmingham SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	.7	10.9	1.2	10.1
Professional Technical	1.0	9.4	1.8	8.7
Sales	1.8	7.5	1.5	9.0
Clerical	1.4	5.1	4.7	7.0
Craftsman	10.2	23.2	14.8	24.9
Operative	39.4	25.7	40.2	25.8
Laborer	33.8	13.2	22.5	9.3
Service	11.7	5.2	13.3	5.3
FEMALE				
Managerial	.8	4.1	.8	3.7
Professional Technical	14.5	12.9	8.0	10.5
Sales	3.0	11.4	4.6	10.6
Clerical	14.6	47.5	13.8	41.1
Craftsman	1.6	2.0	2.4	2.6
Operative	11.8	5.6	21.4	11.9
Laborer	10.5	4.5	2.6	1.3
Service	43.4	12.0	46.3	18.4

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 2, Alabama, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 6-3
Occupational Distribution in Selected Industries
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Birmingham SMSA

[in percent]

Industry	White-collar 1/				Craftsman				Blue-collar 2/			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Primary metals	1.6	31.6	1.6	26.4	9.3	37.7	23.1	45.5	89.1	30.7	75.3	28.2
Fabricated metals	1.1	29.2	11.8	27.1	3.5	26.8	11.8	27.1	95.4	44.0	76.5	45.7
Transportation equipment	.8	19.3	0.0	28.7	1.0	11.6	35.5	38.6	98.2	69.1	64.5	32.7
Medical health	26.8	82.9	29.5	67.5	.1	2.3	0.0	2.0	73.1	14.8	70.5	30.5
Banking	32.0	95.4	31.9	97.6	1.7	.7	0.0	0.0	66.3	3.9	68.1	2.4

1/ White-collar includes managers, professional, technical, sales, and clerical.

2/ Blue-collar includes operative, laborer, and service.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

> . . . the evidence is overwhelming that each of the defendents (Personnel Director of the State of Alabama, and heads of the state departments of Pensions and Securities, Industrial Relations, Public Health, Education, Mental Health, and Civil Defense) engaged in, and continues to engage in, a systematic pattern and practice of discrimination against qualified Negro applicants . . . " 12/

State agencies, according to the court, clearly segregated their jobs and had implicit definitions of "black" and "white" jobs.

The same problems existed for blacks in Birmingham metropolitan employment. When "Bull" Connor was Commissioner of Police blacks were openly excluded from the police force and that situation had been remedied only in a token way by 1968; 15 blacks had passed exams which qualified them for the force but only two had been hired. On the other hand, 96 whites--roughly half the applicants who passed--had been accepted. Other departments of municipal government were better, but not appreciably so. In November, 1967, blacks accounted for 2.7 percent of total employment in Jefferson County, and this had increased to only 5.6 percent by 1971. Worse, the increase was confirmed to an overwhelming degree to jobs traditionally reserved for blacks. Obviously, at the time these data were collected, local government in Birmingham left much to be desired as an equal opportunity employer.

12/U.S. v. Frazer, 317 F. Supp. 1079 (1970).

CHAPTER 7

ATLANTA

Atlanta is one of the dominant cities of the South. It is a transportation hub; it has major financial enterprises; it holds offices for more than 400 of the 500 largest manufacturing firms in the nation; it has major league football, baseball and basketball teams; its new industrial parks and expanding residential complexes convey an air of growth and progress. The Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission estimated the 1969 population of the metropolitan area to be 1.3 million--the 1970 Census puts the SMSA population at 1.4 million--and projected it to 2 million by 1983. The SMSA falls in five counties but Fulton County captures most of the city of Atlanta; it had 607,592 people in 1970, about 47 percent of them black.

Hefner, in the NES report, predicts a steady rise of black population in the central city because of in-migration of blacks from surrounding metropolitan counties. 1/ The black in-migration parallels a shift of whites toward the suburbs, and Hefner estimates that blacks will be 55 percent of the inner city population by 1975 and may reach 70 percent by the year 2000. Most blacks in Fulton County--the inner city--live in woefully inadequate housing in a circle around the central business district and there is apparently little prospect of remedying this condition in the near future due to the opposition of middle income blacks who feel their neighborhoods are threatened by low cost public housing.

Low quality black housing is associated with low black incomes. Hefner asserts that the unemployment rate for blacks is at least twice that for whites, and quotes the Atlanta Bureau of Labor Statistics figures of $4,900 median income for ghetto families as opposed to an SMSA median of $8,600: the 1970 Census gives a black family median of $6,462 and an SMSA-wide median of $10,695. 2/ Significantly, 25.2 percent of black families were below the poverty level as opposed to only 9.1 percent of all families in the SMSA. Further, the concentration of black housing in a band around the central city has important job connotations because blacks without automobiles are at a great disadvantage in reaching outlying areas where there are expanding job opportunities. Atlanta bus lines are geared to downtown areas, and even in those cases where buses do run to suburban areas the trip is long and expensive. Census data bear out that blacks are far more dependent on public transportation, as they make up 65.0 percent of those who travel to work that way, while only about 14.9 percent of them get to work by automobile. It appears that, in this respect, Atlanta is much like the northern cities studied by Kain

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1/ James A. Hefner, "Black Employment in Atlanta" (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, mimeographed). This paragraph, and those following, are a summary of his work, though the data are added from the 1970 Census of Population.

2/ The medians are calculated from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 12, Georgia, Tables 89 and 94 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

and Mooney: segregated housing remote from job opportunities in expanding firms is a major cause of the black's employment problem. 3/

An Atlanta Bureau of Labor Statistics survey in 1969 showed black males with a median of 9.4 years of school and all males with 12.2 years: the 1970 Census confirms this difference, showing 10.2 and 12.1 years, respectively. Comparable BLS data for women gave 10.2 years as the median for blacks and 12.2 for all; Census data agree, showing, in order, 10.6 and 12.0. There is also the usual problem of blacks falling behind in achievement at given grade levels. For example, tests given Atlanta students in the fall of 1966 showed students in segregated black schools at about the same reading level in the eighth grade as students in white schools in the fourth grade, with black students in integrated schools reducing the difference by half. Unfortunately, 92 percent of all Atlanta elementary school pupils and 78 percent of all high school students attended segregated schools in Atlanta as recently as 1968, implying that the educational deficiency of the black labor force is far more acute than raw median years of schooling make it seem. All in all, the Atlanta secondary school system has done little to prepare its black labor force for work in the increasingly sophisticated industry being drawn to the city.

Atlanta has long been a center for black higher education, and the institutions of the Atlanta University Center--to give an illustrative statistic--graduate more black Masters of Business Administration than all white institutions in the nation combined. 4/ But few of these people are from Atlanta black ghettoes, and many do not remain in the city after graduation. There is little reason to think they will be a major force for change in the city itself.

Until recently Atlanta blacks had been largely ineffective in group actions. They were largely impotent in political affairs until the legislation and court decisions of the sixties 5/ and they have had trouble focusing on particular organizations and particular issues in the various "uplift" groups. Most of the well known organizations--the Urban League, the NAACP, SCLC, the Metropolitan Summit Leadership Conference, the Community Relations Commission--have Atlanta chapters, but intergroup rivalries have blunted their impact. Even the SCLC, with a national reputation in civil rights because of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has done little in dealing with purely local issues. However, a "bloc" black vote has been in evidence in recent mayoral races, and there are blacks now in the highest councils of the city. On balance, Hefner thinks that "Atlanta's black community organizations seem to be more involved and active as well as productive than are those in most other Southern cities." 6/

3/ John Kain, "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization", Quarterly Journal of Economics, LXXXII (1968), pp. 175-197; Joseph Mooney, "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization," Quarterly Journal of Economics, LXXXIII (1969), pp. 299-311.

4/ Hefner, op. cit., p. 11.

5/ Blacks in Atlanta, like all Atlantans, benefited from the "one man, one vote" decision that broke the stronghold on rural legislation on the Georgia legislation.

6/ Hefner, op. cit., p. 13

Table 7-1
Estimated Employment of the Atlanta SMSA, 1970

Employment status and industry[1]	1970 Census
Total civilian labor force	606,000
Unemployed	18,000
Employed	588,000
Agriculture	2,745
Manufacturing	111,116
Mining	894
Construction	29,575
Transportation, communication, and utilities	52,673
Wholesale and retail trade	128,805
Finance, insurance and real estate	40,168
Services[2]	99,799
Government	90,551

[1] Except for Government, industry employment data represent private wage and salary workers.

[2] Services includes business and repair services, personal services, entertainment and recreational services, and professional and related services.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 12, Georgia , Tables 164 and 186 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 7-2
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, Atlanta SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.4	13.2	2.5	14.5
Professional Technical	1.7	13.2	2.8	12.7
Sales	3.9	11.4	2.4	11.4
Clerical	4.1	7.9	10.3	9.8
Craftsman	7.9	18.1	14.8	21.4
Operative	33.4	22.4	34.0	18.2
Laborer	31.2	8.6	17.1	6.5
Service	16.2	5.2	16.2	5.5
FEMALE				
Managerial	.5	2.8	1.2	3.6
Professional Technical	2.8	5.4	5.7	9.6
Sales	9.0	15.4	4.5	9.8
Clerical	20.9	46.5	23.9	47.2
Craftsman	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.1
Operative	19.4	11.5	24.6	12.2
Laborer	17.0	6.3	3.6	1.3
Service	28.9	10.2	34.0	14.1

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 12, Georgia, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 7-3

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Communications Industry, Atlanta SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial	0.7	12.8	0.0	12.4
Professional, technical	6.7	38.3	0.0	28.9
Sales	0.7	3.5	0.0	1.7
Clerical	15.6	3.8	28.6	7.4
Craftsman	46.7	39.4	71.4	48.8
Operative	13.3	1.6	0.0	0.8
Laborer	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Service	16.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
WOMEN				
Managerial	0.3	8.9	0.0	2.9
Professional, technical	0.8	7.7	2.7	7.2
Sales	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.7
Clerical	93.5	80.6	94.6	86.2
Craftsman	0.1	1.9	0.0	2.2
Operative	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Laborer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	5.1	0.1	2.7	0.7

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 7-4

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Air Transportation Industry, Atlanta SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial	0.4	13.2	0.0	2.6
Professional, technical	0.2	19.4	5.9	28.4
Sales	2.1	4.7	0.0	0.6
Clerical	0.2	7.1	11.8	22.6
Craftsman	0.6	31.3	0.0	30.3
Operative	13.3	24.1	17.6	11.6
Laborer	79.6	0.3	23.5	2.6
Service	3.6	0.0	41.2	1.3
WOMEN				
Managerial	0.0	2.3	0.0[1]	0.0
Professional, technical	0.0	1.8	0.0	6.8
Sales	14.1	39.7	0.0	1.1
Clerical	3.2	32.2	50.0	53.4
Craftsman	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Operative	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
Laborer	76.3	0.2	50.0	0.0
Service	6.4	22.5	0.0	38.6

[1] The sample for black females was of size 2. The distribution is unrepresentative.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 7-5
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data Retail Trade, Atlanta SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial	2.4	22.8	5.1	17.1
Professional, technical	0.4	3.3	0.5	4.5
Sales	10.8	35.9	4.6	23.6
Clerical	2.9	5.4	13.9	8.1
Craftsman	3.9	8.5	8.8	10.5
Operative	26.9	7.7	26.4	10.9
Laborer	21.5	6.0	12.0	11.4
Service	31.1	10.4	28.7	14.0
WOMEN				
Managerial	0.8	4.5	3.1	4.6
Professional, technical	0.0	0.6	0.8	2.3
Sales	18.3	42.7	14.3	35.4
Clerical	14.7	32.9	20.2	34.9
Craftsman	0.8	0.2	3.1	1.9
Operative	3.8	3.2	5.0	3.4
Laborer	14.1	3.3	3.9	0.6
Service	47.5	12.6	49.6	16.7

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 7-6
Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Railroad Transportation Industry, Atlanta SMSA

[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	White	Black	White
MEN				
Managerial	0.3	11.3	0.0	18.4
Professional, technical	0.3	5.0	0.0	11.2
Sales	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Clerical	2.8	22.7	13.0	24.5
Craftsman	9.9	32.7	17.4	25.5
Operative	8.0	18.0	21.7	16.3
Laborer	59.8	7.3	26.1	3.1
Service	18.9	1.4	21.7	1.0
WOMEN				
Managerial	0.0	0.3	0.0[1]	0.0
Professional, technical	0.0	1.6	0.0	7.1
Sales	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Clerical	51.1	96.2	100.0	78.6
Craftsman	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
Operative	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0
Laborer	25.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	23.4	0.0	0.0	0.0

[1] The sample for black females was of size 1. The distribution is unrepresentative.

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Employment Patterns

The rapid emergence of Atlanta in the post-World War II era as the transportation hub of the Southeast and as a rapidly growing center of light and medium industry created a paradoxical situation for black employment. Blacks usually benefit from tight labor markets, and tight labor markets go along with rapid growth, but the concentration of growth in Atlanta in light and medium industries with above average entry level educational requirements operated in the opposite direction. Employment data in the industries that are the top 15 employers illustrate the nature of the problem: these industries provide 71 percent of the total private employment but only 56 percent of black employment, and not one of them had 25 percent blacks in its work force, even though that is the SMSA average. Yet the 15 do provide most of the good jobs for blacks: 78 percent of all black white-collar workers are found in them. Thus, one reason why Atlanta blacks show up poorly in the occupational structure is because they are disproportionately found in industries that are, in turn, disproportionately oriented toward blue-collar occupations.

SMSA-wide occupational distributions calculated from both EEO-1 and 1970 Census data bear these assertions out. In the 15 leading industries, blacks reached their highest percent of employment in food and kindred products, 24.8 percent, but they fell, in the strongly white-collar industries, to 2.1 percent in insurance carriers, 3.2 percent in communications, and 4.4 percent in air travel. 7/

However, it is not correct to blame all the failure of blacks to get their fair share of white-collar jobs on their inability to penetrate white-collar industry. For the truth is that they seem to end up with blue-collar jobs even in white-collar industry. In no one of the 15 industries which were leading employers did they hold more than 4.4 percent of the white-collar jobs, and they averaged only 2.3 percent in the fifteen as a whole. Clearly Atlanta blacks work at blue-collar jobs regardless of the occupational structure of the industry in question: if a given industry doesn't hire many blacks. Data for the major Atlanta industries below, taken from those selected by Hefner for special study, point up this fact all too well. The communication and transportation industries portray Atlanta's peculiar position as the nerve center of the Southeast, and the occupational distributions of blacks in the paper and like products industry is typical of that in light and medium manufacturing. Retail trade is added because it is the largest employer in the city and is of interest for that reason, even though it does not show up in the large firm EEO-1 data used by Hefner.

Blacks constituted 23.6 percent of 47,662 public employees in Atlanta in 1967. By level of government, the percentage varied from a high of 32.1 percent of central city employees to a low of 5.6 percent of state employees. The largest single government employer of blacks was the Federal government, with 25,139--22.6 percent of the total force--but

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7/ Ibid., p.

the state hired only 342. Surprisingly, the occupational distribution of black state employees in Atlanta was not bad, with 35.3 percent in the officer, manager, professional, technical categories, but the distribution for state and local employees, cumulated across all political subdivisions, reveals the usual low relative position when compared with that for whites (Table 7-7). Finally, Federal employment patterns in 1967 showed strong similarities with those of state and local government in that blacks were under-represented in top GS and PFS categories and over-represented in the lower categories. However, there was evidence of slow but steady improvement in both job acquisition and occupational status in the years following 1967. 8/

8/ *Ibid*., p. 42

Table 7-7
Occupational Distributions for Government Employees
State, Fulton County, Atlanta City

Occupation	Black		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Officials; managers	21	.9	598	6.5
Professionals; technical	225	9.9	3,224	35.3
Office; clerical	107	4.7	2,887	31.6
Craftsman; operatives	284	12.4	1,692	18.5
Laborers	1,389	60.8	514	5.6
Service workers	258	11.3	219	2.4
Total	2,284		9,134	

SOURCE: James A. Hefner, "Black Employment in Atlanta" (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, mimeographed), pp. 37, 39, and 41. Original data came from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

CHAPTER 8

NEW ORLEANS SMSA

The New Orleans SMSA, with a population of 1,045,809 in 1970, increased by 15 percent between 1960 and 1970, and the nonwhite population grew by 17 percent. However, the New Orleans parish, in the central city and the largest of four in the SMSA, actually lost 5 percent, and the nonwhite population in it grew from 37 to 45 percent of the total. The other more suburban parishes--Jefferson, St. Tammany, St. Bernard--each grew by about 60 percent and the white share increased from 84.7 percent to 87.2 percent in Jefferson, 72.5 to 80.5 percent in St. Tammany, and from 93 to 94.5 percent in St. Bernard. The total SMSA generated a labor force of slightly more than 440,000 persons in 1971, but there was an unemployment rate of 6.2 percent, leading it to be classified by the U.S. Department of Labor as one of the cities having "substantial" unemployment.

Bureau of Labor Statistics data give the following percentage distribution of employment in 1968 among major industries for the New Orleans SMSA and for the United States: wholesale and retail trade, 23.6 and 21.7 percent; manufacturing, 15.5 and 29.1 percent; contract construction, 6.9 and 4.8 percent; finance, insurance, real estate, 5.8 and 5.0 percent; government, 14.1 and 17.9 percent, transportation and public utilities, 12.8 and 6.4 percent; services, 17.5 and 15.6 percent. 1/ Low percentages for government and manufacturing, industries in which the position of blacks is better than average in most cities, suggests that the relative index of occupational position of black males in the New Orleans labor market would be lower than in SMSA's with more manufacturing, and that is the case, the overall index of 70.0 in 1969 being less, for example, than Birmingham, 73.1 percent, and Memphis, 71.9 percent. Murphy, Vetter and Coker, who made the initial study for the Negro Employment in the South project, expect the prevailing employment pattern to persist, with most of the immediate growth to take place in the non-manufacturing service and trade sectors. They also point out that a long range development program centering about the Port of New Orleans should ultimately provide a stimulus to both manufacturing and transportation. 2/

The NES researchers, relying heavily on 1966 and 1969 EEO-1 data, organize their commentary on black employment in the first years following Title VII around five perspectives. 3/ One, there was slow improvement in the occupational structure for both black males and black females, but the occupational status of blacks remains substantially inferior to that of whites for both sexes. Black males improved from a relative index

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1/ James T. Murphy, Eric Vetter, and Edward Coker, "Black Employment in New Orleans," Proceedings, 24th Annual Meetings of the Industrial Relations Research Association (1971), pp. 79-88.

2/Ibid.

3/Ibid., p. 81.

of occupational position of 66 in 1966 to 70 in 1969. Two, 1950 and 1960 Census data, though not directly comparable with EEO-1 data, confirm that blacks of both sexes are disproportionately employed at the lowest occupational classifications. Census data for 1970, not available at the time of the Murphy study, show essentially the same thing (Table 8-2). Three, occupational data organized by eight SIC classes indicate that the upward occupational shift took place in each class and for both men and women. 4/ Four, a summary view across 56 2-digit SIC's yields the following observations: average wage-salaries paid black males was about two-thirds those paid white males; only a handful of industries had IOP's for white males below the average for black males; 34 of the 56 industries had IOP's for white males that exceeded the maximum black IOP. Five, there seems no obvious relationship between sector growth rates and penetration rates for black employment, as the available evidence indicates that blacks are achieving higher penetration rates in both high and low growth sectors. Black females are having better luck than formerly, finding jobs in all sectors other than construction, and the construction industry has traditionally offered few jobs to women of either race.

The Murphy, Vetter, Coker report was made in the form of a paper to the Industrial Relations Research Association meetings in 1971 and it is not as long nor as detailed as the other SMSA study monographs. However, it is clear that these authors regarded lack of educational achievement to be a major problem for the black labor force. Statistical information on statewide basis shows that black children in Louisiana have participated in an inferior educational process: the numbers reveal fewer years of schooling and fewer school days per year, lower teacher salaries, and higher student-to-teacher ratios. The overall median level of education for the SMSA is 11.2 years, but for blacks the median falls to 9.5 years. 5/ Moreover, the black community seemingly holds a casual attitude toward academic standards, and there is strong resistance to attempts to improve oral and written communication. Finally, employer interviews by the NES research group indicate that blacks are not, in general, perceived by them to be as well prepared for the world of work as their white counterparts, which hinders even those blacks who have acquired the necessary skills.

The Orleans Parish School System educates about 80 percent of the black students in the SMSA, and is about 70 percent black in enrollment. 6/ The teaching corps is integrated, but increased opportunities in science and business for college educated blacks has caused a shift away from majors in education, and recruitment of high quality black teachers has become

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4/ The eight SIC classes are: transportation and utilities; retail trade; finance, insurance, real estate; construction; trade; mining; services; and manufacturing.

5/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 20, Louisiana, Table 148 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

6/ Private and parochial schools have traditionally been important for white students in New Orleans.

Table 8-1
Estimated Employment of the New Orleans SMSA, 1970

Employment status and industry[1]	1970 Census
Total civilian labor force	388,000
Unemployed	20,000
Employed	368,000
Agriculture	1,624
Manufacturing	49,705
Mining	9,028
Construction	20,834
Transportation, communication, and utilities	34,282
Wholesale and retail trade	78,366
Finance, insurance and real estate	19,412
Services[2]	72,698
Government	57,199

[1] Except for Government, industry employment data represent private wage and salary workers.

[2] Services includes business and repair services, personal services, entertainment and recreational services, and professional and related services.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 20, Louisiana, Tables 164 and 186 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

Table 8-2

Comparisons of Occupational Distributions
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
Private Nonagricultural Employment, New Orleans SMSA
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	1969 EEO-1		1970 Census	
	Black	Total	Black	Total
MEN				
Managerial	1.0	10.7	1.7	11.6
Professional Technical	2.4	13.1	2.5	12.1
Sales	2.2	7.8	2.5	9.1
Clerical	2.5	6.2	5.9	9.1
Craftsman	11.8	21.2	15.7	22.1
Operative	29.3	20.7	31.8	19.6
Laborer	33.0	13.7	23.9	8.9
Service	17.8	6.6	16.0	7.4
FEMALE				
Managerial	0.6	2.9	1.2	3.8
Professional Technical	5.3	8.5	6.6	11.8
Sales	6.8	14.3	6.1	10.9
Clerical	15.0	45.1	18.7	43.3
Craftsman	9.3	5.2	2.2	1.7
Operative	17.6	8.1	19.8	9.0
Laborer	8.9	4.6	2.5	1.2
Service	36.4	11.2	43.0	18.3

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Vol. 1, Part 20, Louisiana, Table 173 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

increasingly difficult at the precise time many white teachers in previously all black schools are quitting because of lax--they say--academic standards. 7/

Thus, while the New Orleans employers interviewed by the Murphy group reported no special problems in hiring blacks for blue-collar and unskilled jobs, they argued that the educational attainments of blacks, even with comparable years of schooling, are not sufficient for clerical, skilled, and white-collar jobs.

There is not a single huge black ghetto in New Orleans in the style of midwestern cities; blacks are concentrated in clusters of low income housing throughout the SMSA. Physical access to good jobs is therefore not the deterrent to black employment that it is in many places. However, inadequate information about the job market is. The NES researchers concluded from their interviews:

> that the black high school senior often has little understanding of the nature and dynamics of the employment process. He often enters the labor market with very low expectations about the type of work he can perform and he tends to seek menial jobs. He does not know how to seek employment and how to follow up job leads . . . High school counselors experience frustration in their efforts to help; they in turn are often perceived by students as not being very helpful. The counselor's problems arise from a lack of funding for a larger staff . . . and from the lack of communication between employers and counselors on what the labor market is seeking. 8/

The tables following show broad agreement between occupational distributions calculated from 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census data aggregated across the whole SMSA. The same is true for most industries--manufacturing, retail trade, transportation and utilities, services. In cases where there are apparent differences--black males in finance, insurance, and real estate, and black females in construction--the number of workers, and the corresponding samples, are so small as to render the differences meaningless.

7/ James T. Murphy, Eric Vetter, and Edward Coker, "Black Employment in New Orleans" (mimeographed). This is from the paper actually read to the IRRA, not the edited, published version.

8/ *Ibid.*, p. 12

Table 8-3

Occupational Distributions in Manufacturing and Construction, New Orleans SMSA

1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data

[in percent]

Sex and occupation	Manufacturing				Construction			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Male								
White-collar	4.3	35.7	11.3	33.2	2.5	26.5	2.4	18.5
Craftsman	14.7	33.8	17.1	34.6	23.1	37.9	44.0	54.9
Blue-collar	81.0	30.5	71.7	32.0	69.4	35.6	53.6	26.6
Female								
White-collar	9.4	51.5	5.5	52.8	78.6	99.0	0.0	96.7
Craftsman	33.7	15.8	3.3	4.7	.0	.0	33.3	0.0
Blue-collar	57.0	32.7	91.1	42.4	21.4	1.0	66.7	3.3

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 8-4

Occupational Distribution in Retail Trade and Services, New Orleans SMSA 1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data [in percent]

Sex and occupation	Retail trade				Services			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Male								
White-collar	21.7	74.3	17.4	52.9	11.0	53.5	15.4	53.8
Craftsman	3.4	7.5	7.9	10.7	2.6	9.8	8.0	20.9
Blue-collar	74.9	18.3	74.8	36.2	86.4	36.6	76.7	25.2
Female								
White-collar	35.8	81.4	30.6	77.7	20.6	85.5	25.1	78.7
Craftsman	1.5	2.1	2.1	0.8	1.2	.9	0.3	0.5
Blue-collar	62.7	16.5	67.2	21.5	78.2	13.5	74.5	20.7

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 8-5

Occupational Distributions in Transportation, Utilities, and Finance, Insurance, Real Estate
New Orleans SMSA
1969 EEO-1 and 1970 Census Data
[in percent]

Sex and occupation	Transportation and utilities				Finance, insurance, and real estate			
	EEO-1		Census		EEO-1		Census	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Male								
White-collar	4.1	39.1	6.1	36.9	44.8	98.0	37.6	91.2
Craftsman	11.1	23.7	8.1	20.0	.8	.4	31.3	2.6
Blue-collar	84.8	37.2	85.8	43.1	54.4	1.6	31.4	6.2
Female								
White-collar	87.1	99.7	45.5	86.4	86.3	99.7	73.0	96.7
Craftsman	.5	.1	0.0	1.0	.0	.0	0.0	0.4
Blue-collar	12.4	.2	54.6	12.4	13.7	.3	26.9	2.9

SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports, 1969. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

CHAPTER 9

EDUCATION, EARNINGS, AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Virgil L. Christian, Jr., and F. Ray Marshall

Without exception, the researchers who made the SMSA studies for the "Negro Employment in the South" project argued that less than equal educational opportunity and achievement was, and is, strongly associated with black employment disadvantage, and Arvil Van Adams, in a regression analysis spanning all southern SMSA's found relative years of schooling to be a powerful explanatory variable in an equation which took the occupational position of blacks relative to whites as the dependent variable. 1/ This finding in the NES study is not surprising, since schools are the focal point for many institutional factors--segregated low income housing, political impotence, social inferiority--that affect black employment adversely. The tragedy is that labor market disadvantage generated in this way is both pernicious and persistent: the desperately inadequate education afforded blacks under the old separate but equal doctrine marked the majority of blacks active in southern SMSA's at the time of the initial reporting of the EEO-1 data, and stands as a real barrier to earnings and occupational equality for the older age cohorts even if more overt discrimination in the labor market is removed.

Not all students of the problem of black employment ascribe as much importance to the education factors as did the researchers in the Negro Employment in the South project. As stated in the introduction, some scholars have gone so far as to argue that the road to earnings and occupational equality lies outside the classroom, citing the results of statistical studies that show the rate of return to investment in education to be much less for blacks than for whites. 2/ In fact, the studies show that blacks in all age brackets have worked at lower status jobs and have earned less at given levels of education: this has been true in all sections of the country and it has been double true in the South. It has also been asserted, and supported, that the differences between black and white earnings and occupational distributions, particularly for males, widen as educational levels rise: the argument is that poorly educated workers of both races are found in low pay, low status jobs that deadend well down the occupational ladder, but that whites, to a much greater degree than

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1/ Arvil V. Adams, "Some Determinants of Negroes' Relative Occupational Status," The Employment of Southern Blacks (Salt Lake City; Olumpus Publishing Col, 1975).

2/ Theodore W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital", American Economic Review, LI (March 1961); Herman P. Miller, "Annual and Lifetime Income in Relation to Education: 1939-1959," American Economic Review, L (December 1960); H.S. Houthakker, "Education and Income,"Review of Economics and Statistics, XLI (February 1959); Giora Hanoch, "An Economic Analysis of Earnings and Schooling," Journal of Human Resources, II (Fall 1967); Randall Weiss, "The Effect of Education on the Earnings of Blacks and Whites," Review of Economics and Statistics, LII (May 1970), p. 150

blacks, are able to break out of this pattern with more education. An additional difficulty faced by blacks in the South, until the recent past, has been the strong tradition that they should not be placed in supervisory positions over whites, which hampered the upward mobility even of those who were more qualified.

Progress for blacks must be measured in terms of changes in these traditional relationships. As long as factors other than native ability abetted by investment in education and training remain important determinants of labor market opportunities available to blacks, there will be strong presumptive evidence of discrimination against them. In this regard, it is gratifying that recent work of Finis Welch using 1970 Census data reversed his findings based on 1960 Census data and led him to conclude that the increment in annual earnings associated with an additional year of schooling is as great for young blacks as it is for young whites. 3/ But the belief that the quality of black schools in the South is poor is strong, and is reinforced constantly by studies that show a steadily widening black-white gap in reading and writing skills and mathematical proficiency as grade level rises. For this reason, it may take years after blacks have reached equality in median years of comparable quality schooling before this belief can be altered and employment data reflect actual rather than imagined proficiency. Discrimination of this sort may be due to ignorance rather than malice but it adds up to unequal treatment just the same. Unfortunately, at the present time quality differences appear to be more real than imaged: separate but equal remains a myth despite evidence that the quality differences are diminishing. 4/

The fact that blacks in all age brackets have less education and have earned less at given levels of education is well established. This has been true both in and out of the South, but it has been particularly true in the South. It is therefore interesting to see what the data from the 1970 Census show the magnitudes of the differences to be in the seven major southern SMSA's covered in this study: the data are summarized in the tables following.

The figures in Table 9-1 indicate blacks in these cities are slowly catching up in actual years of schooling, but still are considerably behind. It will take many years before the effect of the large differences in the older age cohorts, by race, can be washed out. About a third of all blacks and a fifth of whites had less than five years of schooling, the level generally regarded as necessary for functional literacy: These overall percents were composed, for males, of 35.6 blacks and 21.7 whites, and, for females, of 29.9 blacks and 19.3 whites. Thus the percentages of functional illiteracy were, in highest to lowest order: black males; black females; white males; white females. The same ordering holds for 12 years of schooling, with black males lowest at 14.0 percent, followed by 17.1 percent for black females, 19.1 percent for

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3/ Finis Welch, "Black-White Differences in Returns to Schooling," American Economic Review, LXIII (December 1973), pp. 893-907.
4/ Ibid.

white males, and 26.0 percent for white females.

Post high school education shows some reversing of the preceding order, but black males remain at the bottom of the heap. A larger percent of white males, 23.8, have education beyond high school than white females, 18.2, but these percentages are much larger than those for blacks; however, for blacks the male-female order is shifted with a higher percentage of females, 8.7, than males, 6.8, having some college. The relative advantage of white males is particularly large in the post-graduate category, and this advantage carries through to occupational data, showing up in the heavy concentration of white males in the professional categories.

Table 9-2 shows black earnings in the seven SMSA's relative to whites ar various levels of education. For males, blacks have the greatest relative earnings in the less than five and more than sixteen categories. Both of these phenomena undoubtedly reflect labor market characteristics relatively favorable to blacks. For jobs requiring very low levels of education the demand for and supply of black males probably is relatively large; in the "more than sixteen" category the supply of black males is small relative to the demand, even when the demand represents token compliance with civil rights legislation or affirmative action requirements of government contractors. For the eight to sixteen years of schooling categories black males' earnings relative to white males decline with educational levels. However, black males earn more than black and white females at every educational level. Black females are better off relative to white females at different educational levels than black males are relative to white males (Table 9-2), and actually, from high school graduation upward, earn more than white women. 5/ The reasons for this are not clear, but there are several possibilities: employers traditionally prefer black females for some jobs; black females may work longer hours than white females; black females are more likely to be heads of households and are therefore more likely to maximize earnings relative to education; black females have higher labor force participation rates than white females and therefore have more labor market experience.

The numbers in Table 9-2 also suggest the effect of credentials on earnings for all race and sex groups. For example, they show that black males with eight years of schooling actually had higher median earnings than those in the nine to eleven category, and there was a sizeable jump in earnings for those with 12 years of schooling--almost as high as those with 13 to 15. Credentialism is even more pronounced for females: those with 12 years of schooling not only have markedly higher earnings than those with nine to eleven years, but even higher than those with 13 to 15 years. The relative increase in black and white female median earnings is especially pronounced for those with 16 years of schooling and more. All

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5/ These data do not include household service workers. However, this is not a serious omission for high school graduates, even for black women in the South.

groups gain at the 16 years of school level, but white males and black females gain relative to black males and white females, which causes a marked decline in the black-white earnings ratio for males and a marked increase for females.

Tables 9-3 and 9-4 provide more detail for the relationship between earnings by race for 12 years and less of education. These figures show relatively high percentages of both black and white females earning less than $4,000. Indeed, over half of black (52.1 percent) and white (55.0 percent) females with 12 years of education earned less than $4,000 a year. Although a higher proportion of white females with 12 years of education earned less than $4,000, significantly higher proportions of white females also earned over $6,000.

The relationships between earnings and college level education are depicted in Tables 9-5 and 9-6. These figures show females to be disadvantaged relative to white males at every level of education. Larger proportions of females earned less than $4,000 at every education level. These figures show that black females have higher earnings by education levels only relative to white females, not relative to black males. Relative to black females, much lower percentages of black males earned less than $4,000 and higher percentages earned $10,000 and above.

Table 9-7 and 9-8 show occupational distributions by race for males and females respectively. Several conclusions flow from these tables. The first is that black males are more evenly distributed across occupations than black females. Secondly, black and white females have heavier concentrations in professional and technical categories than males. Thirdly, males are much more heavily represented in managerial positions than females, but white males are much more likely to be in these positions than black males; for those with 16 years of schooling, the proportions are 10.8 percent for blacks and 24.2 percent for whites. Black males also were greatly under-represented in clerical jobs relative to white males, but were much more likely to hold operative, laborer and service jobs and were roughly equal in the craftsworkers category; black males with 16 years of schooling were slightly more to hold craftsworkers jobs and those with more than 16 years of schooling were more than twice as likely to be craftsworkers. Note that over half of all women with 13 to 15 years of schooling were in the sales and clerical categories, especially the latter. Black women in this educational category were over three times as likely to be operatives as white women and were over twice as likely to be in service occupations.

Tables 9-9 and 9-10 present data on occupational distributions by race for those with no college training. Black and white females in these categories are more evenly distributed across occupations than those with with college education. There are, however, some notable racial differences. For women with less than five years of education, whites are much more likely to be in the clerical and operative categories and blacks are much more likely to be in services; over a third of all white women and 59.4 percent of all black women in this educational category are in the services. A larger proportion of black women with 12 years of schooling (36.4 percent)

Table 9-1

Seven Southern SMSA's Educational Level Attained By Race and Sex [in percent]

Years of school	Males		Females	
	Black	White	Black	White
Less than five	36.5	21.7	29.9	19.3
Six	7.2	4.7	6.2	4.3
Seven	6.1	4.5	6.2	4.2
Eight	8.7	8.1	8.8	8.4
Nine to eleven	20.7	18.0	23.3	19.6
Twelve	14.0	19.1	17.1	26.0
Thirteen to fifteen	4.4	11.8	5.3	11.1
Sixteen	1.3	6.7	2.3	5.1
More than sixteen	1.1	5.3	1.1	2.0

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The percentage distribution is for those who reported. Education data were not available for 6.8 percent of black males, 5.0 percent of white males, 5.9 percent of black females, and 4.5 percent of white females.

Table 9-2

Summary Table
Earnings of Blacks and Whites
at Varying Educational Levels
Seven Southern SMSA's

Years of school	Males			Females		
	Black	White	Ratio[1]	Black	White	Ratio[1]
Less than five	$4,416	$5,280	78.0	$2,175	$2,430	89.5
Eight	4,567	6,498	70.3	2,185	2,774	78.8
Nine to eleven	4,131	6,519	63.4	2,282	2,999	76.1
Twelve	4,821	7,764	62.1	3,836	3,639	105.4
Thirteen to fifteen	4,867	7,825	62.5	2,887	3,613	79.9
Sixteen	6,375	11,276	56.5	5,758	4,864	118.4
More than sixteen	8,653	11,264	76.8	7,500	6,689	112.1

[1] Black earnings to white earnings.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. The do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table 9-3

Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Females, 14 or Older, With Less than College Education
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	Less than five		Eight		Nine to eleven		Twelve	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Less than $4,000	92.0%	82.3%	91.5%	72.1%	87.7%	66.7%	52.1%	55.0%
$4,000 to 5,999	6.1	13.2	7.3	19.1	9.0	20.2	44.7	27.8
$6,000 to 7,999	1.2	2.6	0.4	6.5	2.6	9.0	2.0	12.5
$8,000 to 9,999	0.4	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.5	2.2	0.9	3.3
$10,000 to 14,999	0.2	0.9	0.2	1.0	0.1	1.5	0.1	1.2
Above $15,000	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3
Sample size	510	463	532	1,254	1,903	4,477	3,032	8,611
Median	2,175	2,430	2,185	2,774	2,282	2,999	3,836	3,639
Ratio [1]	89.5		78.8		76.1		105.4	

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table 9-4

Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Males, 14 or Older,
With Less than College Education
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	Less than five		Eight		Nine to eleven		Twelve	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Less than $4,000	35.3	51.6	26.2	41.7	33.5	48.3	20.4	39.1
$4,000 to 5,999	23.0	26.8	18.5	29.5	11.9	25.8	11.9	26.6
$6,000 to 7,999	20.1	15.3	21.2	18.8	18.1	17.3	20.0	22.6
$8,000 to 9,999	11.2	4.8	16.5	7.7	15.6	6.8	19.6	8.0
$10,000 to 14,999	8.4	1.1	14.3	2.2	17.2	1.5	21.6	3.3
Above $15,000	2.1	0.5	3.3	0.1	3.8	0.2	6.5	0.4
Sample size	1,146	1,028	2,420	713	6,833	2,097	9,308	1,789
Median	5,280	4,116	6,498	4,567	6,519	4,131	7,764	4,821
Ratio[1]		78.0		70.3		63.4		62.1

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table 9-5

Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Males with Some College
By Race and by Years of College
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school					
	Thirteen to fifteen		Sixteen		Post-graduate	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Less than $4,000	41.4	27.7	25.4	14.4	14.5	15.7
$4,000 to 5,999	19.8	9.7	20.1	6.4	9.2	7.4
$6,000 to 7,999	22.8	13.9	23.7	9.5	15.8	9.7
$8,000 to 9,999	10.5	16.3	17.8	12.1	32.2	9.9
$10,000 to 14,999	4.9	21.3	10.1	29.6	20.4	28.6
Above $15,000	0.5	11.2	3.0	28.0	7.9	28.7
Sample size	570	5,879	169	3,376	152	2,485
Median	4,867	7,825	6,375	11,276	8,653	11,264
Ratio [1]	62.2		56.5		76.8	

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do *not* include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table 9-6

Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Females with Some College
By Race and by Years of College
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school					
	Thirteen to fifteen		Sixteen		Post-graduate	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Less than $4,000	69.3	55.4	34.6	42.2	17.1	28.8
$4,000 to 5,999	19.1	23.9	17.6	18.0	8.2	12.5
$6,000 to 7,999	9.3	13.8	30.0	26.9	32.9	25.3
$8,000 to 9,999	1.8	4.4	13.9	7.9	27.1	17.4
$10,000 to 14,999	0.2	2.0	3.4	4.3	12.9	13.7
Above $15,000	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.8	2.3
Sample size	654	4,003	353	1,918	170	942
Median	2,887	3,613	5,758	4,864	7,500	6,689
Ratio 1/						

1/Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p.75.

Table 9-7

Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Males with Some College
By Race and Educational Level

Occupation	Years of schooling					
	Thirteen to fifteen		Sixteen		More than sixteen	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Professional and technical	10.6	18.4	48.9	40.5	65.9	67.7
Managers	3.6	17.0	10.8	24.2	9.1	16.2
Sales	3.9	16.0	4.3	16.5	2.4	6.3
Clerical	21.8	14.1	14.6	8.4	8.5	4.2
Craftsworkers	13.8	14.9	5.4	5.2	4.9	2.2
Operatives	20.0	9.2	6.5	2.3	4.9	1.2
Laborers	11.4	5.2	3.2	0.7	1.2	0.6
Services	15.0	5.2	6.4	2.2	3.0	1.6
Sample size	615	6,312	186	3,657	164	2,895

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 9-8

Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Females with Some College
By Race and Educational Level

Occupation	Years of schooling					
	Thirteen to fifteen		Sixteen		More than sixteen	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Professional and technical	16.4	19.7	75.7	61.1	80.9	79.5
Managers	2.6	4.5	2.1	3.4	5.5	5.3
Sales	7.5	9.5	2.1	6.2	1.6	2.4
Clerical	46.0	54.6	14.0	24.0	6.0	8.8
Craftsworkers	1.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Operatives	6.5	2.1	1.8	1.4	3.3	1.7
Laborers	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Services	18.8	8.2	4.2	3.3	2.7	1.6
Sample size	734	5,270	379	2,530	183	1,098

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Samples Tapes.

Table 9-9

Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Females with No College
By Race and Educational Level

Occupation	Years of schooling							
	Less than five		Eight		Nine to eleven		Twelve	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Professional and technical	2.9	2.0	3.0	2.6	3.7	4.3	7.0	7.2
Managers	1.0	3.2	1.2	4.3	1.0	4.1	1.4	3.7
Sales	2.3	7.9	1.8	13.8	4.1	15.2	4.9	10.9
Clerical	6.5	13.1	5.5	17.6	11.8	35.1	27.8	59.6
Craftsworkers	1.9	1.8	3.2	3.7	2.9	2.5	1.5	1.4
Operatives	23.1	35.1	24.8	28.6	21.0	15.4	18.4	6.2
Laborers	2.9	2.2	3.5	1.6	3.8	1.3	2.6	0.5
Services	59.4	34.7	57.0	27.9	51.7	22.1	36.4	10.5
Sample size	308	596	400	1,726	1,773	6,009	2,089	11,462

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

are likely to be in services than white women with less than five years of education. White women with levels of education below five years are more likely than blacks to be operatives, but the proportions are reversed for educational levels 9-11.

For males with no college education (Table 9-10) blacks are much more likely than whites to be in the laborer category and considerably less likely to be craftsworkers; indeed, black men are less likely to be craftsworkers at every educational level.

Table 9-11 confirms the finding of other studies that for males, black earnings relative to white earnings decline with education up to grade 12, hold fairly steady for those with some college but decline at the credential college graduate year, and increase markedly with post-graduate education. The pattern for black females relative to white females is relatively higher and does not decline as sharply as the educational level rises. Indeed the earnings of black females are higher than those of whites at the "credential" levels (12 and 16) and for more than 16.

The relative black-white occupational patterns are more stable relative to earnings for males and females. Again black females with 16 or more years of education actually have higher occupational positions than whites.

If the civil rights ferment of the 1960's improved economic opportunities for blacks it can be assumed that the improvement would be more perceptible among younger blacks than older ones who entered the work force at a time when labor market discrimination was greater. Studies comparing returns to education by race without controlling for age are likely to be misleading if this conclusion is correct, and the numbers in Tables 9-12 and 9-13 are compatible with this hypothesis. They show that the earnings of young black males are appreciably higher relative to young white males than are the earnings of older black males relative to older white males at all educational levels. The situation is somewhat different for females, with the younger blacks being relatively better off up only through high school: the older ones with some college move ahead largely because they actually earn more than their white counterparts. In fact the data tempts one to say that if there is an earnings problem for black women it is a matter of sex rather than race.

Unfortunately, it is not sufficient to look at the raw numbers and let it go at that. Racial earnings profiles are such that the black-white spread in annual earnings for an age cohort becomes greater as its members get older. Hanoch estimated, for example, that at age 27 black males in the units with an eighth grade education had annual earnings of .5874 times those of white males at the same grade level but that the rate would fall to .5562 by the time the groups reached age 47; comparable ratios for black and white males with one to three years of college were .4315 at age 27 and .3633. 6/ Thus one cannot assert without further argument that the present group of young blacks will be any better off than the present group of older blacks by the time they reach that age.

The Hanoch study does provide a basis for making rough estimates of the change in the black-white ratios over a 20-year period, assuming that the earnings profiles behave as they did at that time. The ratios declined

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6/ Hanoch, *op. cit.*

from age 27 to age 27 in the Hanoch study as follows: up to grade 4, from .8257 to .6432; at grade 8, from .5874 to .5562; at grade 12, from .5136 to .4943 to .3579. One might object that this is only a 20-year decline and that the median ages in the groups 14 through 29 and 30 through 65 are slightly more than 20 years apart, but the objective loses most of its punch when one notices that the earnings curves flatten sharply between ages 40 and 60, which implies that earnings ratio for the older age group would be much the same anywhere across that interval. When proportionate declines are applied to the ratios in Table 9-12, they show in order, beginning at grade 8: 8, .769; 9 to 11, .776; 12, .700; 13 to 15, .834; 16, .575. One can therefore hypothesize that young black males will be better off relative to comparably aged whites a couple of decades hence than are older blacks today; the reason of course, is that they are off to a much better start.

More substantial progress for blacks would be evidenced by a coming together of the earnings curves. Then the growth in earnings for blacks would parallel that for whites, and there would not be the sharp divergence in the middle and later earnings years that creates the sharp difference in median earnings, by educational level, for aggregation across the whole black and white labor forces. But the time interval since the first thrusts toward educational and employment equality is too short for there to be an appreciable effect on the earningy of middle age blacks: it will be most interesting to see what studies ten years hence will show. 7/

Occupational data in Table 9-12 roughly parallel the earnings data. Young black males are better off relative to whites than are older ones, though there is not as great a drop in relative occupational position at given educational levels as there is in earnings. Further, there is encouragement in the fact that young black males, even in southern SMSA's, do not face the occupational disadvantage at given educational levels that they did a short time ago. One of a suspicious nature might see evidence of tokenism in the high occupational distributions of young black college graduates of both sexes, but a good job is a good job regardless of the reason.

Summary

Educational achievement is but one of many factors associated with earnings. Native ability, appearance, wealth and status of one's parents and personal characteristics developed as a consequence of environment are thus of obvious relevance, and separation of that part of any increment in annual earnings that is directly traceable to an increment in education is a difficult conceptual and empirical problem. But no one doubts that they are strongly associated, and few doubt that the association has been less strong for blacks than it has been for whites.

7/ Median earnings for aggregations across the whole labor force are also sensitive to racial differences in average years of schooling.

Table 9-10

Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Males with No College
By Race and Educational Level

Occupation	Years of schooling							
	Less than five		Eight		Nine to eleven		Twelve	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Professional and technical	0.5	1.5	0.8	2.4	1.3	3.2	2.1	8.0
Managers	1.2	5.9	2.9	8.5	1.9	9.1	2.5	13.2
Sales	0.2	3.6	1.6	6.4	1.4	8.5	2.0	10.5
Clerical	2.6	3.7	4.5	5.8	5.8	7.6	11.9	11.2
Craftsworkers	16.6	29.2	14.8	33.5	16.2	29.1	16.6	27.3
Operatives	25.5	28.2	31.8	25.9	31.2	22.1	33.1	17.1
Laborers	35.2	13.7	23.2	6.7	22.0	10.0	16.2	5.6
Services	18.2	14.2	20.4	10.8	20.2	10.5	15.6	7.0
Sample size	1,288	1,520	829	3,056	2,322	7,759	1,896	9,949

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 9-11

Seven Southern SMSA's
Relative Earnings and Relative Index of Occupational Position at Varying Education Levels

Years of school	Earnings, black to white		Occupational Index, black to white	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than five	78.0	89.5	84.3	89.4
Eight	70.3	78.8	83.4	87.8
Nine to eleven	53.4	76.1	84.4	85.0
Twelve	62.1	105.4[1]	83.0	85.6
Thirteen to fifteen	62.5	79.9	84.5	93.0
Sixteen	56.5	118.4	94.3	105.1
More than sixteen	76.8	112.1	95.9	100.2

[1] This ratio would be well under 100 if means rather than medians were used.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 9-12

Seven Southern SMSA's
Male Median Earnings and Indexes of Occupational Position
By Race, Age, and Educational Level

Years of School	Under thirty						Thirty and over					
	Earnings			Index			Earnings			Index		
	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio
Less than five	2,740	3,313	82.7	6,426	6,994	91.9	4,060	5,619	72.3	6,390	7,618	83.9
Eight	2,641	3,254	81.2	6,450	7,016	91.9	5,023	7,218	69.6	6,837	8,202	83.4
Nine to eleven	2,766	2,871	96.3	6,589	7,090	92.9	5,229	8,349	62.6	6,925	8,488	81.6
Twelve	4,239	5,832	72.7	7,178	8,089	88.7	5,930	9,169	64.7	7,186	8,994	79.9
Thirteen to fifteen	4,019	4,055	99.1	7,768	8,724	89.0	6,309	10,422	60.5	8,058	9,729	82.8
Sixteen	5,250	7,474	70.2	10,128	10,171	99.6	7,750	13,406	57.8	9,865	10,563	93.4
Over sixteen	7,500	7,341	102.2	9,702	10,676	90.9	9,077	13,474	67.4	10,733	11,050	97.1

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. Median income data used in calculating the Indexes of Occupational Position came from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1972 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). They show the following: professional and technical, 11,249; managers, 12,304; sales, 8,321; clerical, 7,965; craftsworkers, 8,833; operatives, 7,017; laborers, 4,839; and service, 5,568.

Table 9-13

Seven Southern SMSA's
Female Earnings and Indexes of Occupational Position
By Race, Age, and Educational Level

Years of School	Under thirty						Thirty and over					
	Earnings			Index			Earnings			Index		
	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio	Black	White	Ratio
Less than five	2,327	2,373	98.1	3,256	3,550	91.7	2,151	2,467	87.2	3,184	3,494	91.1
Eight	2,000	2,259	88.5	3,207	3,429	93.5	2,168	2,889	75.0	3,201	3,648	87.7
Nine to eleven	2,240	2,300	97.4	3,509	3,613	97.1	2,334	3,521	66.3	3,324	3,975	83.6
Twelve	2,484	3,203	77.6	3,859	4,323	89.3	2,755	4,186	65.8	3,674	4,407	83.4
Thirteen to fifteen	2,604	3,182	81.8	4,453	4,667	95.4	3,964	4,502	88.0	4,584	4,962	92.4
Sixteen	4,700	4,888	96.1	6,077	6,031	100.8	6,761	5,910	114.4	6,467	5,903	109.6
Over sixteen	6,200	5,938	104.4	6,300	6,349	99.2	8,195	7,348	111.5	6,488	6,395	101.5

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. Median income data used in calculating the Indexes of Occupational Position came from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1972 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). They show the following: professional and technical, 6,830; managers, 6,224; sales, 2,279; clerical, 4,646; craftsworkers, 4,276; operatives, 3,885; laborers, 3,151; services, 2,541.

No attempt has been made here to isolate that part of earnings attributed to education, by race, age, and sex, or to develop the corollary cost data needed to estimate rates of return, hence there could be no calculation to show directly that the rate of return for blacks is on the upswing. Instead, use is made of an underlying assumption that as the racial earnings gap disappears that part of the gap associated with education will also disappear, implying that a convergence in annual earnings will bring about a convergence in the rate of return to education. Seen in this light, the 1970 Census data for these seven cities hold out hope of a change for the better: they show rather conclusively that the earnings gap at educational levels is not as wide as it was a decade before.

Finally, the data do show that education is important to blacks even though the rate of return may be less for them. Not sufficient, it's true, because many who have reached high levels of education are in low skill, low pay jobs; but necessary, in that few--almost none --reach either high earnings or high occupational positions without it.

Appendix Tables

Earnings and Occupational Distributions

Male and Female, Black and White

Table A-1. Seven Southern SMSA's Earnings of Males with Grade School Only, by Age and Race [in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	0-5				8			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Less than $4,000	73.0	60.4	49.2	31.5	75.7	61.5	33.5	18.8
$4,000 to 5,999	18.0	16.6	28.1	22.8	15.4	16.3	32.3	17.0
$6,000 to 7,999	8.0	13.0	16.4	21.7	5.9	12.8	21.1	23.3
$8,000 to 9,999	1.0	6.5	4.8	12.1	2.4	6.0	11.0	19.2
$10,000 to 14,999	0.0	3.6	1.0	9.4	0.6	2.8	1.9	17.7
Above $15,000	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.2	4.0
Sample size	100	169	1,074	1,196	169	646	526	1,908
Median	$2,740	$3,313	$4,060	$5,619	$2,641	$3,254	$5,023	$7,218
Ratio[1]	82.7		72.3		81.2		69.6	

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-2. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Females with Grade School Only, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	0-5				8			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Less than $4,000	86.0	84.3	93.0	81.1	90.3	88.5	92.3	69.2
$4,000 to 5,999	8.8	11.2	5.4	14.0	6.2	7.0	6.3	21.6
$6,000 to 7,999	3.5	4.5	1.1	2.9	2.7	2.6	0.9	6.7
$8,000 to 9,999	1.8	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.2	1.3
$10,000 to 14,999	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.3
Above $15,000	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.0
Sample size	57	89	542	449	113	270	426	1,111
Median	$2,327	$2,373	$2,151	$2,467	$2,000	$2,259	$2,168	$2,889
Ratio[1]	98.1		87.2		88.5		75.0	

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[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-3. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Males with Some High School, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	9-11				12			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Less than $4,000	72.3	69.7	29.8	12.4	46.8	34.7	22.3	7.8
$4,000 to 5,999	16.8	10.9	32.9	11.9	26.5	16.7	28.7	9.2
$6,000 to 7,999	8.4	9.9	24.1	22.0	20.1	21.7	28.4	19.6
$8,000 to 9,999	1.8	5.6	10.3	21.5	4.9	16.0	13.9	22.8
$10,000 to 14,999	0.7	3.6	2.6	25.8	1.3	9.7	6.0	30.0
Above $15,000	0.0	0.4	0.3	6.5	0.3	1.1	0.7	10.5
Sample size	1,004	3,039	1,179	4,262	897	3,496	700	5,700
Median	$2,766	$2,871	$5,229	$8,349	$4,239	$5,832	$5,930	$9,169
Ratio[1]	96.3		62.6		72.7		64.7	

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-4. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Females with Some High School, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school							
	9-11				12			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Less than $4,000	89.3	86.9	85.7	56.8	80.5	62.4	72.6	47.3
$4,000 to 5,999	8.1	9.0	10.6	25.3	16.1	28.0	20.3	28.8
$6,000 to 7,999	2.1	2.6	2.6	12.4	2.4	7.6	4.7	16.9
$8,000 to 9,999	0.4	0.8	0.9	3.1	0.8	1.3	1.9	4.8
$10,000 to 14,999	0.0	0.5	0.2	1.9	0.1	0.5	0.2	1.8
Above $15,000	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4
Sample size	764	1,823	1,244	3,157	1,042	3,680	843	4,856
Median	$2,240	$2,300	$2,334	$3,521	$2,484	$3,203	$2,755	$4,186
Ratio[1]	97.4		66.3		77.6		65.8	

[1] Black median to white median.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-5. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Males with Some College, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school											
	Thirteen to fifteen				Sixteen				Post-graduate			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 6
Less than $4,000	49.8	49.7	22.5	7.1	33.3	26.0	14.0	5.9	32.0	26.6	6.4	8.2
$4,000 to 5,999	19.8	12.5	22.9	7.4	26.7	11.3	11.6	4.0	12.0	14.5	8.2	3.9
$6,000 to 7,999	21.2	14.4	30.0	13.5	21.7	17.2	27.9	6.5	8.0	13.2	16.4	7.5
$8,000 to 9,999	7.0	12.5	14.1	19.1	15.0	16.9	24.4	10.4	28.0	13.1	35.5	9.0
$10,000 to 14,999	1.8	9.2	10.1	32.2	1.7	23.5	17.4	34.1	16.0	27.3	23.6	30.8
Above $15,000	0.4	1.7	0.4	20.6	1.7	5.2	4.7	39.1	4.0	5.3	10.0	40.6
Sample size	273	2,286	227	2,912	60	908	86	2,241	25	620	110	1,593
Median	$4,019	$4,055	$6,309	$10,422	$5,250	$7,474	$7,750	$13,406	$7,500	$7,341	$9,077	$13,474
Ratio[1]	99.1		60.5		70.2		57.8		102.2		67.4	

[1] Black earnings to white earnings.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-6. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Females with Some College, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Earnings	Years of school											
	Thirteen to fifteen				Sixteen				Post-graduate			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 6
Less than $4,000	76.8	62.9	50.5	43.5	42.2	40.3	21.4	35.8	36.4	33.7	9.7	24.6
$4,000 to 5,999	15.4	23.1	28.4	25.7	22.2	21.8	15.9	14.9	9.1	16.8	6.5	10.6
$6,000 to 7,999	6.7	10.2	16.5	19.1	30.4	31.2	33.3	27.5	45.5	34.7	30.6	21.9
$8,000 to 9,999	0.8	2.9	4.1	6.9	4.4	4.5	22.9	13.2	9.1	13.2	33.1	19.9
$10,000 to 14,999	0.0	0.8	0.5	3.6	0.7	1.9	5.5	7.5	0.0	1.6	17.7	19.6
Above $15,000	0.3	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.2	1.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.4	3.3
Sample size	358	1,793	218	1,658	135	861	201	965	22	190	124	602
Median	$2,604	$3,182	$3,964	$4,502	$4,700	$4,888	$6,761	$5,910	$6,200	$5,938	$8,195	$7,348
Ratio[1]	81.8		88.0		96.1		114.4		104.4		111.5	

[1] Black earnings to white earnings.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do *not* include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 75.

Table A-7. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions of Males with Grade School Only, by Age and Race

[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school							
	0-5				8			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Professional and technical	0.0	2.8	0.4	1.2	2.0	0.4	0.5	2.5
Managers	0.9	0.0	1.1	7.0	1.0	1.8	3.7	10.4
Sales	0.9	5.1	0.3	3.4	2.5	10.9	1.0	6.0
Clerical	5.5	4.0	2.4	3.6	6.0	3.4	4.3	6.5
Craftsmen	17.3	23.9	16.6	30.9	12.9	20.8	15.4	35.0
Operatives	24.5	29.0	26.5	28.1	18.9	26.9	35.2	25.1
Laborers	38.2	23.3	34.1	11.8	28.9	19.3	19.9	5.0
Service	12.7	11.9	18.5	14.0	27.9	16.4	19.9	9.5
Sample size	110	176	1,353	1,627	201	731	602	2,441

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-8. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions of Females with Grade School Only, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school							
	0-5				8			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Professional and technical	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.5	2.7	2.2	2.9	3.0
Managers	0.0	1.0	1.0	3.3	0.0	1.1	1.9	4.6
Sales	7.0	4.0	1.6	8.2	6.2	12.9	2.6	13.4
Clerical	16.3	23.2	4.2	11.0	10.6	22.2	4.2	18.8
Craftsmen	0.0	1.0	2.6	2.5	2.7	1.6	3.5	3.9
Operatives	25.6	33.3	22.7	34.3	20.4	20.3	23.0	27.5
Laborers	7.0	5.1	2.9	1.5	3.5	3.3	1.9	1.6
Service	44.2	32.3	61.7	36.7	54.0	36.4	60.1	27.3
Sample size	43	99	313	610	113	365	313	1,518

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-9. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions of Males with Some High School, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school							
	9-11				12			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Professional and technical	1.2	2.3	1.6	4.7	2.5	8.2	2.0	9.5
Managers	1.1	2.5	2.3	13.0	2.2	5.7	3.6	18.1
Sales	1.5	8.1	1.4	8.6	2.8	8.7	1.3	12.2
Clerical	7.0	9.0	5.7	8.3	13.3	13.4	13.3	10.9
Craftsmen	12.2	18.3	19.0	34.3	16.2	26.4	17.7	27.2
Operatives	29.0	23.2	32.9	20.1	35.2	21.8	30.7	13.6
Laborers	21.4	21.4	21.4	4.1	15.8	9.1	15.8	2.1
Service	26.7	15.3	15.6	6.9	12.0	6.7	15.6	6.4
Sample size	1,100	3,199	1,292	4,983	934	3,431	758	6,341

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-10. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions of Females with Some High School, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school							
	9-11				12			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65
Professional and technical	4.4	2.4	3.8	5.4	6.1	5.6	9.5	9.5
Managers	1.2	1.1	1.4	5.4	0.7	1.8	1.4	5.2
Sales	4.4	17.0	3.8	15.7	5.9	8.4	3.9	11.6
Clerical	22.0	37.3	8.7	37.8	37.6	67.0	17.6	56.2
Craftsmen	2.9	1.1	2.5	2.8	1.0	1.2	2.0	1.6
Operatives	15.2	12.2	24.7	14.7	16.8	4.8	19.6	6.5
Laborers	4.2	1.3	3.0	0.9	2.2	0.5	2.9	0.3
Service	45.8	27.5	52.1	17.2	29.6	10.7	43.0	9.0
Sample size	824	2,372	1,054	4,226	1,144	4,803	830	6,591

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-11. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Males with Some College, by Age and Race

[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school											
	Thirteen to fifteen				Sixteen				Post-graduate			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whit 30 to
Professional and technical	15.1	21.6	12.1	20.5	60.7	48.6	50.5	40.2	55.6	74.7	69.5	67.6
Managers	2.1	8.9	6.5	24.7	6.6	14.5	11.1	28.6	3.7	7.0	11.9	19.6
Sales	5.5	13.5	3.6	18.7	1.6	18.0	3.0	15.5	0.0	6.2	3.4	5.9
Clerical	18.5	18.5	22.6	10.8	14.8	8.2	14.1	7.0	7.4	5.6	8.5	3.0
Craftsmen	12.3	12.7	15.3	14.9	6.6	4.6	6.1	5.1	11.1	2.3	2.5	2.0
Operatives	20.5	10.7	18.5	5.7	4.9	2.2	5.1	1.7	14.8	1.6	2.5	0.9
Laborers	13.4	7.7	5.2	1.3	3.3	1.0	2.0	0.2	3.7	0.5	0.0	0.4
Service	12.7	6.4	16.1	3.4	1.6	2.9	8.1	1.7	3.7	2.0	1.7	0.8
Sample size	292	2,318	248	3,315	61	911	99	2,518	27	641	118	1,96

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-12. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions for Females with Some College, by Age and Race
[in percent]

Occupation	Years of school											
	Thirteen to fifteen				Sixteen				Post-graduate			
	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 65	Blacks under 30	Whites under 30	Blacks 30 to 65	Whites 30 to 6
Professional and technical	15.0	17.8	26.7	26.5	72.5	69.7	86.6	63.8	72.7	81.8	83.6	79.8
Managers	1.7	2.9	5.4	6.5	2.1	2.3	1.9	4.5	4.5	1.4	6.7	6.6
Sales	7.0	8.1	7.1	9.4	4.2	4.0	1.0	5.9	0.0	2.9	0.7	2.2
Clerical	53.5	58.9	28.8	48.0	14.1	19.4	6.2	20.9	22.7	11.5	3.7	7.6
Craftsmen	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Operatives	5.1	1.9	6.7	2.5	4.9	0.5	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	1.8
Laborers	1.5	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Service	15.0	9.6	23.8	5.4	2.1	3.4	3.3	2.3	0.0	1.4	2.2	1.1
Sample size	413	2,244	240	2,341	142	1,040	209	1,333	22	209	134	722

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

CHAPTER 10

MIGRATION AND RACIAL INCOMES IN SOUTHERN SMSA'S

Migration may be viewed narrowly in terms of costs and returns to individuals and families, or broadly in terms of costs and benefits to the whole community. The decision to migrate may be made on an investment basis: the rate of return to moving is that rate which would equate the present value of the difference between income streams in the place of departure and the place of destination with the cost of moving, and the move is made if the return is high enough to justify it. However, migration decisions made solely on this criterion would work steadily toward eradicating regional income differentials for comparable grades of labor: the persistence of such differentials implicates other less purely economic motives. In fact, actual population movements suggest that non-monetary considerations--psychic costs and returns--are determining for many, if not for most, migrants and potential migrants. 1/

Nevertheless, economic factors cannot be overlooked in analyzing the size and direction of population movements into and out of the South, and rural-urban movements within the South, since World War II. The introduction of capital intensive methods in agricultural production, particularly in cotton, reduced the marginal product of many Southern farm workers to near zero, with the result that the difference between the income streams in agricultural employment and urban employment became, for all practical purposes, the amount of urban income. 2/ Tens of thousands abandoned the rural areas and headed for Southern SMSA's. Others continued to live on farms but adopted nonagricultural occupations as the primary source of income; still others left the region directly without using Southern cities as way stations. Those who settled in the SMSA's provided an indirect stimulus to regional out-migration of blacks who were already in the cities by competing with them for the low skill level kinds of jobs offered blacks, regardless of qualifications, in the "pre-civil rights" South.

The migration pattern just elaborated led to one of the central arguments of the Black Employment in the South Project: namely, that

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1/ Larry Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy, Supplement, LXX (October 1962), pp. 80-93.

2/ The difference became urban income and almost nothing. It is futile to argue whether such people were pushed out or pulled out. From one viewpoint, the opportunity to earn more outside agriculture represented a lure--pull--to people whose contribution to agricultural output had become negligible; from the other, the inability to earn mere subsistence in agriculture constituted a "push" into other alternatives.

the major changes in the methods of agricultural production which led to large scale displacement of agricultural labor out of the rural South resulted in a reduction of the absolute and relative quality of the black work force in Southern SMSA's. This reduction came about, according to the argument of the BES study, as a result of the following sequence: (1) blacks coming into the SMSA had less education and vocational training than blacks already in the cities, but they swelled the pool of labor available for the kinds of jobs offered blacks, regardless of qualifications; (2) the increased competition for jobs in the cities spurred out-migration of better qualified urban blacks to other regions. The two--in-migration to the cities of rural blacks with qualifications below those already there and out-migration to other regions of urban blacks with above average qualifications--combined to lower the quality of the black labor force in the affected cities.

> Educational levels in rural, nonmetropolitan areas, however, are generally lower than those in urban metropolitan places. Consequently, in the mass rural-to-urban movements that occur, migrants, even though on the average they may be better educated than those they leave behind, are likely to be educationally disadvantaged in their urban destination. This has apparently been the situation in the past for blacks in the United States. 3/

The argument is direct and straightforward and would seem to lend itself ideally to testing from the kinds of data that are available on the 1970 Census tapes. However, there are two distinct difficulties in relating these data to the preceding argument: (1) the data for an SMSA cover only in-migrants to that SMSA and data on out-migrants from the SMSA can be picked up only by a search of the entire country, which is prohibitively expensive in computer time and money for small scale projects; (2) the character of in-migration to Southern SMSA's changed drastically between 1960 and 1970 so that the in-migrant data on the 1970 tapes may not reflect at all the effect of in-migration in the 1960 to 1965 period, much less in the decade of the fifties when displacement of blacks from Southern agriculture was heaviest. This is true both because of improved educational qualifications of rural in-migrants and because a higher proportion of in-migrants to Southern SMSA's in 1970 came from other SMSA's than was the case in 1960.

> Whatever the situation in the past, the dominant stream with respect to type of residence for black migrants now is from one metropolitan area to another . . . about 65 percent of the migrants to metropolitan areas over the 1965-1970 interval had lived in a metropolitan area in 1965 . . . with almost no exception, the proportion of in-migrants from other metropolitan areas is substantially higher in 1970 than in 1960 . . . The change is particularly noteworthy among the 14 SMSA's in the

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3/ A.R. Miller, "The Black Migrant: Changing Origins, Changing Characteristics." Paper presented to W.E.B. DuBois Conference on the American Black, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, October, 1974 (mimeographed).

> South--in 1960, in-migrants to all of them were predominantly nonmetropolitan in origin; by 1970, ten were receiving at least a slight majority of in-migrants from other metropolitan areas . . . The black population is now so overwhelmingly urban, metropolitan residence, the remaining rural, nonmetropolitan pool is so small that we can anticipate only further increases in the dominance of the intermetropolitan stream among the black migrants. 4/

Since data from the 1970 Census were not available at the time of the BES study, it was necessary to rely on earlier studies for insights on the educational characteristics of out-migrants. The best known of these is that of Rashi Fein, which showed, as did all others, that black out-migrants from Southern cities had better educational qualifications than those who remained. 5/ There is nothing on the 1970 tapes to create doubt as to the continuing validity of this finding. In short, while it must be admitted that the 1970 tapes do little to substantiate the BES argument, they also do little to counter it. The migratory pattern has changed too much for 1965 to 1970 data to be very helpful in regard to the 1950 to 1965 period.

There is one additional aspect of the BES conclusion that should be mentioned. Implicit in the argument that migration widened racial income and occupational gaps in Southern SMSA's is the premise that it either left the quality of the white labor force unaffected or actually improved it. Their reasoning is straightforward: the post World War II growth industries in the urban South called for skills with above average educational qualifications, and it was necessary to import highly trained managerial, professional, and technical white employees from outside the region. 6/ In fact, many of the largest plants were branches of national firms and manning them properly involved no more than transfer of top level employees from established plants elsewhere. Data on the 1970 tapes have the same limitations for checking the validity of this premise, which relates to the fifties and early sixties, as they do for the previously mentioned one regarding black migration, but they may be used in support if handled with reservation, primarily because studies devoted to the characteristics of migrants show no such turn around in white migration patterns in the sixties as was the case for blacks. At worst the 1970 tapes permit estimation of the effect of current white in-migration on the present

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4/ Ibid.

5/ It should be emphasized that studies of net migration, though useful for many purposes, miss much of the impact under discussion here. For example, gross in-migration of 10,000 poorly qualified blacks combined with gross out-migration of 10,000 well educated blacks could have a sizeable adverse effect on the black labor force profile in a given SMSA, yet net migration would be zero.

6/ Maddox, *op. cit.*

white labor force in Southern cities.

Despite the foregoing limitations, there are several useful observations that can be made directly from the 1970 tapes. To begin, in-migrants to Southern cities are quite like in-migrants to non-Southern cities in that they are well ahead of the resident population in median years of schooling (Table 10-1). Not surprisingly, in view of this, they are also ahead in occupational status, with higher indexes of occupational position across the board (Tables 10-3 and 10-4). However, it is surprising, at least at first blush, that in-migrant whites of both sexes lag in earnings despite their occupational advantage, and in-migrant blacks lead in earnings by less than would be expected from their lead in education (Table 10-2). Apparently seniority and wage increases associated with length of employment, combined, possibly, with better labor market information, largely offset the migrants' advantage in education and bring enough higher earnings at given occupational levels to yield, in turn, higher median incomes. 7/

Disaggregation of in-migrant data by educational level reveal little that is unexpected. They show white earnings ahead of black earnings at all levels of education: this observation is valid for both sexes and for both in-migrants and residents. 8/ They also show that up to the level of high school graduates black female in-migrants earn slightly more than resident black females: this is true only for black males in the nine through twelve class (Tables 10-5, 10-6, and 10-7). For whites the observation of the previous paragraph holds even more strongly than was true for aggregation over the whole white labor force; i.e., residents out-earn migrants at all levels of education. Likewise, as was true before, the indexes of occupational position for migrants relative to residents are much higher than their relative earnings (Tables 10-8 through 10-13). For whites, the migrant index is higher than the resident index in all cases except for males at the lowest educational level, where the ratio is .969. For blacks the same holds except at the top educational level, where the ratios are .996 for males and .998 for

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7/ It is to be remembered that indexes of occupational position are calculated on the assumption that occupational incomes are equal regardless of industry, firm, and location. Thus it is possible for an industry to have an above average IOP, but below average earnings, if it pays below average wages at occupation.

8/ Data in the previous chapter showed black women in the top educational category leading white women in earnings and occupational status. But the top educational category in that chapter covered women with more than 16 years of schooling. The migrant sample was too thin to permit that level of disaggregation of educational data, so the top categories are not comparable in that high school levels are included in one, not in the other.

Table 10-1
Seven Southern SMSA's
Highest Educational Level Attended
In-migrants and Resident Population, 1970
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Highest grade attended	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
0 to 5	24.2	33.2	18.2	18.4	22.0	27.5	18.2	15.6
6	5.7	8.0	4.2	4.9	3.9	6.3	3.8	4.4
7	5.2	6.6	3.8	5.2	5.3	6.3	3.3	4.8
8	6.7	9.8	6.0	9.4	7.3	9.6	6.3	9.2
9 to 11	19.4	22.8	13.6	20.2	21.8	24.9	15.3	21.9
12	24.0	13.3	19.0	20.2	22.2	17.2	26.5	27.1
13 to 15	9.2	4.4	16.0	11.6	10.4	5.0	15.0	10.8
16	3.4	1.0	10.0	5.9	4.7	2.0	8.3	4.3
More than 16	2.3	0.9	9.2	4.1	2.4	1.2	3.3	1.8
Sample size	654	5,993	6,522	19,160	751	7,244	6,661	21,140
Median years of school[1]	9.3	7.2	11.2	9.8	9.6	8.0	11.1	10.2

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[1] The years of school column give highest grade attended, so the "real" class limits in terms of years of schooling are: $0 < x \le 5$; $5 < x \le 6.0$; $6.0 < x \le 7.0$; $7.0 < x \le 8.0$; $8.0 < x \le 11$; $11.0 < x \le 12.0$; $12.0 < x \le 15.0$; $15.0 < x \le 16$; $16.0 < x$. The medians reflect the real limits. Note that 12 in this categorization does not imply a high school graduate but only that the person did at least some senior level high school work. This is reflected in the "real" class limit, which shows the student has started but not necessarily finished the 12th grade, i.e., 11.0 x 12.0.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-2. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of In-migrants and Resident Population, 1970
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Less than $4,000	41.5	44.2	27.0	23.5	76.7	80.6	60.5	55.8
$4,000 to 5,999	26.7	26.1	13.3	10.7	14.5	11.5	21.5	23.7
$6,000 to 7,999	19.8	18.3	15.7	17.4	6.3	4.8	12.6	13.3
$8,000 to 9,999	9.9	8.4	14.4	16.9	2.3	2.3	3.5	4.5
$10,000 to 14,999	1.3	2.6	19.9	21.5	0.3	0.6	1.4	2.3
Above $15,000	0.8	0.4	9.7	10.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.4
Sample size	393	2,950	4,341	11,405	352	2,675	2,738	7,776
Median	$4,637	$4,444	$7,236	$7,816	$2,608	$2,481	$3,306	$3,584
Ratio[1]	64.1	56.0	--	--	78.9	69.2	--	--

[1] Ratio of black earnings to corresponding category of white earnings.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. These data are for individuals with some earnings income. Earnings are defined to be wages, salaries, commissions, bonuses, tips. They do not include income from professional practice or nonfarm businesses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p.75.

Table 10-3. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, In-Migrants and Resident Population, 1970
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	7.3	3.6	22.2	12.6	17.7	12.1	21.0	13.4
Manager	2.4	2.3	13.9	13.7	0.8	1.6	3.7	4.2
Sales	2.2	1.6	11.2	9.9	5.0	4.5	9.0	11.9
Clerical	12.8	7.5	8.3	9.2	27.7	18.9	42.5	44.9
Craftsmen	15.5	14.9	18.0	24.4	1.7	1.6	1.2	1.8
Operatives	31.5	29.5	14.1	16.2	16.6	17.6	9.5	9.6
Laborers	16.5	22.3	5.5	6.3	2.8	2.4	0.6	0.6
Service	11.9	18.3	6.8	7.6	27.7	41.3	12.5	13.6
Sample size	413	3,324	4,549	13,187	361	2,443	3,780	10,213

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-4. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, 1970
In-migrants and Residents, by Race and Sex

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	821	405	2,497	1,417	1,209	826	1,434	915
Manager	295	283	1,710	1,686	50	100	230	261
Sales	183	133	932	824	114	103	205	271
Clerical	1,020	597	661	733	1,287	878	1,975	2,086
Craftsmen	1,369	1,316	1,590	2,155	73	68	51	77
Operatives	2,239	2,097	1,002	1,151	645	684	369	373
Laborers	798	1,079	266	305	88	76	19	19
Service	663	1,019	379	423	704	1,049	318	346
Sample size	413	3,324	4,549	13,187	361	2,443	3,780	10,213
IOP	7,388	6,929	9,037	8,694	4,170	3,784	4,601	4,348
Ratio 1[1]	81.8%	79.7%			90.6%	87.0%		
Ratio 2[2]	93.8%		96.2%		90.7%		94.5%	

[1] Black to white for same category.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. Median incomes used in calculating the IOP's were taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972). They are, for males: professional and technical, 11,249; managers, 12,304; sales, 8,321; clerical, 7,965; craftsmen, 8,833; operatives, 7,107; laborers, 4,839; service, 5,568. For females, they are, in the same order: 6,830; 6,224; 2,279; 4,646; 4,276; 3,885; 3,151; 2,541.

Table 10-5. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Less than $4,000	53.3	46.1	34.4	25.3	90.2	94.9	84.4	73.6
$4,000 to 5,999	33.3	28.3	25.3	18.1	5.9	4.4	10.7	18.3
$6,000 to 7,999	6.7	17.0	17.3	23.0	2.0	0.6	3.6	5.7
$8,000 to 9,999	5.3	6.8	11.1	16.6	2.0	0.1	0.9	1.1
$10,000 to 14,999	1.3	1.7	8.4	14.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.0
Above $15,000	0.0	0.1	3.5	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Sample size	75	1,088	521	1,968	51[1]	680	225	901
Median	$ 3,552	$4,276	$5,233	$6,556	$2,217	$2,107	$2,370	$2,717
Ratio 1[2]	67.9%	65.2%			93.5%	77.5 %		
Ratio 2[3]	83.1%		79.8%		105.2%		87.2%	

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[1] Note small sample.

[2] Ratio of black earnings to corresponding category of white earnings.

[3] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-6. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grades Nine through Twelve
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females		
	Black		White		Black		White
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant
Less than $4,000	39.3	44.8	27.0	25.4	79.1	83.[illegible]	65.5
$4,000 to 5,999	26.6	26.1	14.9	10.1	16.9	13.0	22.2
$6,000 to 7,999	24.0	18.5	19.8	18.9	3.5	2.[illegible]	8.8
$8,000 to 9,999	8.7	8.1	16.2	18.7	0.5	1.1	2.5
$10,000 to 14,999	0.9	2.3	18.0	21.2	0.0	0.2	0.7
Above $15,000	0.4	0.3	4.1	5.7	0.0	0.2	0.2
Sample size	229	1,539	1,734	5,939	201	1,5[illegible]	1,340
Median	$4,805	$4,398	$6,818	$7,534	$2,528	$2,40[illegible]	$3,053
Ratio 1[1]	70.5%	58.4%			82.8%	68.1%	
Ratio 2[2]	109.3%		90.5%		105.2%		86.6%

[1] Ratio of black earnings to corresponding category of white earnings.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-7. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Less than $4,000	37.1	34.7	25.1	19.4	65.0	49.9	50.2	46.2
$4,000 to 5,999	21.3	18.6	9.0	7.6	14.0	17.1	22.7	20.7
$6,000 to 7,999	20.2	21.7	11.9	11.7	14.0	20.0	18.7	18.0
$8,000 to 9,999	16.9	15.2	13.8	14.0	6.0	9.7	5.3	9.3
$10,000 to 14,999	2.2	7.7	24.3	26.0	1.0	2.9	2.4	5.0
Above $15,000	2.2	2.2	16.0	21.3	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.8
Sample size	91	323	2,086	3,498	100	445	1,173	2,100
Median	$5,211	$5,645	$8,597	$9,614	$3,077	$4,012	$3,984	$4,367
Ratio 1[1]	60.6%	58.7%			77.2%	91.9%		
Ratio 2[2]	92.3%		89.4%		76.7%		91.2%	

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[1] Ratio of black earnings to corresponding category of white earnings.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-8. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	4.5	0.5	2.0	1.7	0.0	2.5	3.4	2.4
Managers	1.1	1.8	5.7	9.1	0.0	0.9	2.7	4.3
Sales	0.0	0.8	5.7	4.7	2.9	1.8	8.8	12.9
Clerical	2.2	3.5	5.1	5.0	8.6	5.3	12.8	14.8
Craftsmen	19.1	15.5	31.8	34.5	2.9	2.3	2.1	3.8
Operatives	27.0	30.0	29.1	26.2	28.6	23.1	39.6	30.3
Laborers	29.2	28.9	10.8	7.9	8.6	2.8	2.4	1.1
Services	16.9	19.0	9.7	10.8	48.6	61.2	28.1	30.3
Sample size	89	1,306	647	2,581	35[1]	433[2]	328	1,243

[1] A sample this small implies sizeable standard errors in the individual cells: the percentages should be taken as an indication, nothing more.

[2] There were 502 resident black females in household service, a category not included in the percentage distribution. This is larger than the entire number employed elsewhere: in fact, it is 53.6% of the total employment of black females in this educational grouping. The corresponding percentage for white females is 4.1%!

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-9. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grades Nine through Twelve
By Race and Sex

[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	2.6	1.7	7.7	5.4	5.8	5.1	6.2	6.1
Managers	1.7	1.9	12.4	11.3	0.5	1.3	3.4	4.0
Sales	2.1	1.6	10.0	9.5	5.3	5.1	11.0	13.2
Clerical	12.9	8.3	8.1	10.1	28.6	19.3	51.7	51.4
Craftsmen	16.3	15.1	25.9	28.5	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.9
Operatives	39.1	31.9	19.3	18.6	19.9	20.0	10.5	9.0
Laborers	16.7	19.9	7.5	7.6	3.4	3.1	0.7	0.7
Services	8.6	19.5	9.1	8.9	34.0	44.3	15.0	13.8
Sample size	233	1,665	1,747	6,617	206	1,536	1,913	6,290

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-10. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	22.0	24.4	40.0	31.7	43.3	43.7	43.0	35.8
Manager	5.5	5.9	17.5	20.6	1.7	3.2	4.3	4.6
Sales	4.4	4.2	13.9	14.0	5.0	4.6	6.6	8.4
Clerical	23.1	18.7	9.3	10.4	31.7	30.2	37.4	43.5
Craftsmen	9.9	11.0	7.5	11.0	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.7
Operatives	16.5	16.1	5.5	5.8	7.5	4.6	1.9	1.5
Laborers	3.3	8.8	2.3	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Services	15.4	10.8	4.0	3.3	10.8	13.3	6.0	5.2
Sample size	91	353	2,155	3,989	120	474	1,539	2,680

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-11. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex

Occupationa	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	506	56	225	191	0	171	232	164
Managers	135	221	701	1,120	0	56	168	268
Sales	0	67	474	391	66	41	201	294
Clerical	175	279	406	398	400	246	595	688
Craftsmen	1,687	1,369	2,809	3,047	124	98	90	162
Operatives	1,919	2,132	2,068	1,862	1,111	897	1,538	1,177
Laborers	1,413	1,398	523	382	271	88	76	35
Services	941	1,058	540	601	1,235	1,555	714	770
IOP	6,776	6,580	7,746	7,992	3,207	3,152	3,614	3,558
Ratio 1[1]	87.5%	82.3%			88.7%	88.6%		
Ratio 2[2]	103.0%		96.9%		101.7%		101.6%	

[1] Black to white for same category.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-12. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, Grades Nine through Twelve
By Race and Sex

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	292	191	866	607	396	348	423	417
Managers	209	234	1,526	1,390	31	81	212	249
Sales	175	133	832	790	121	116	251	301
Clerical	1,027	661	645	804	1,329	897	2,402	2,388
Craftsmen	1,440	1,334	2,288	2,517	103	77	60	81
Operatives	2,779	2,267	1,372	1,322	773	777	408	350
Laborers	808	963	363	368	107	98	22	22
Services	479	1,086	507	496	864	1,126	381	351
IOP	7,209	6,869	8,399	8,294	3,724	3,520	4,159	4,159
Ratio 1[1]	85.8%	82.8%			89.5%	84.6%		
Ratio 2[2]	104.9%		101.3%		105.8%		100.0%	

[1] Black to white for same category.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-13. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Residents and Migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Resident
Professional; technical	2,475	2,745	4,500	3,566	2,957	2,985	2,937	2,445
Managers	677	726	2,153	2,535	106	199	268	286
Sales	366	349	1,157	1,165	114	105	150	191
Clerical	1,840	1,489	741	828	1,473	1,403	1,738	2,021
Craftsmen	874	972	662	972	0	17	34	30
Operatives	1,173	1,144	391	412	291	179	74	58
Laborers	160	426	111	145	0	0	3	6
Services	857	601	223	184	274	338	152	132
IOP	8,422	8,452	9,938	9,807	5,215	5,226	5,356	5,169
Ratio 1[1]	84.7%	86.2%			97.4%	101.1%		
Ratio 2[2]	99.6%		101.3%		99.8%		103.6%	

[1] Black to white for same category.

[2] Migrant to resident, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

females. In short, whether the data are aggregated over the whole labor force or disaggregated into these three broad educational categories, they show that migrants do very well in comparison with residents in terms of the kinds of jobs they can get, but don't do nearly as well in terms of their relative earnings.

In summary, the in-migrant data make it appear that, on the average, in-migrants are better educated and have somewhat better jobs, occupationally speaking, than do residents, but earn a bit less money. The in-migrant data reveal approximately the same black-white relationships as do the resident data, in addition to which migrants are such a minority of the labor force--under 15 percent for blacks and under 35 percent for whites--that it is impossible to make a strong case for the argument that in-migration is widening racial income and occupational gaps today.

It must be remembered, however, that these findings do not in any way contradict the argument of the Black Employment in the South study. As noted in the quotation from Miller earlier in this chapter, migration of blacks into Southern cities in 1960 and earlier was largely rural in origin, but by 1970 the pattern had changed. By then a majority of the in-migrants came from other SMSA's. It therefore seemed useful to disaggregate the black in-migrant data by place of origin--urban or rural--to see whether large differences in educational qualifications, earnings and occupational distributions show up on the 1970 tapes. If such rural-urban differences were present in 1970 then they presumably would have existed in 1960, since rural blacks narrowed their deficiency in education in that decade.

It should be noted that the educational breakdowns in the rural-urban series are not as fine as was the earlier case. The reason is that the sample becomes too small if the data are broken into more than three levels of schooling: grade eight or less; grades nine through twelve; more than grade twelve. Table 10-14 summarizes the findings. Over one-third of the white male in-migrants have more than a high school education, and they are well ahead in this respect. Next come white females, with more than a fourth of them above the high school level, a proportion which, in turn, puts them far in advance of blacks of both sexes. Black females are third followed by black males, who, as usual, trail in educational statistics.

Rural-urban differences are not as great as might be expected. In fact, in all four groups the percentages are quite close together. For three groups--black males, black females, and white males--the in-migrants who came from other metropolitan areas are slightly ahead in years of schooling, but white females from rural areas lead in the top two categories, but their advantage is as trivial.

Earnings data show a more marked differential in favor of in-migrants from other metropolitan areas than do the educational data. At grade eight or less, metropolitan in-migrants lead rural in-migrants in all four race-sex groups, and the same is true for the top educational class, more than twelve grades. Only in the nine through twelve grade category is there any exception to this rule, and there it is true only for black females, where rural in-migrants earn about $200 more (Tables 10-15, 10-16, and 10-17). Racial comparisons at all educational levels show whites ahead: the black-white ranges from a low of 56.6 percent for rural males at grade eight or less to a high of 92.8 percent for rural females at grades nine through twelve. The advantage of in-migrants from other metropolitan areas is less pronounced in occupation than in earnings. At the bottom educational level, grade eight or less, inter-city migrants uniformly fare better than rural to city migrants, but results are mixed for the higher levels of education (Tables 10-21, 10-22, and 10-23). That is, metropolitan in-migrants had higher IOP's across the board at grade eight or less, but at grades nine through twelve in-migrant black males who came from rural areas were slightly ahead of those who came from other cities, and rural female in-migrants of both races were ahead of those who originated in other cities for the top level, more than grade 12. The tables show without exception, that after standardization of the data by educational level and by place of origin, whites had higher indexes of occupational position.

In summary, while it may have been true that migration operated to widen earnings and occupational gaps in Southern SMSA's between 1950 and 1965 because of the lack of educational qualification of black in-migrants, it appears to be true no longer. There are two reasons for this: first, a much higher proportion than formerly of black in-migrants come from other SMSA's; second, there is less difference in median years of schooling between rural and urban black migrants than was the case a decade or two earlier. As a result, black in-migrants generally fare better in comparison with white in-migrants than does the resident black population relative to the resident white population. Ironically, that part of the present black population in those cities which originated in the rural South at an earlier period serves now to pull the average qualifications of the resident population down, making today's in-migrants look good by comparison. Thus the fact that blacks coming to the cities from rural areas in the time of agricultural displacement had a negative effect on the quality of the black labor force makes it easier for today's in-migrants to pull the averages up. Be that as it may, the 1970 tapes lend no support to the argument that in-migration to Southern SMSA's is lowering at present the quality of the black labor force, or reducing their earnings and occupational status of blacks relative to whites.

Table 10-14. Seven Southern SMSA's
Educational Attainment of Metro and Rural In-migrants
1970
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Race and sex	Educational level					
	Grade eight or less		Grades nine through twelve		More than grade twelve	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Black males	42.5	45.1	43.4	41.8	14.2	13.1
Black females	37.4	39.3	44.7	43.5	17.9	17.2
White males	29.9	30.7	33.2	33.2	36.9	36.1
White females	29.5	28.8	42.9	43.0	27.6	28.2

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes. The educational levels were not disaggregated further because of sample size problems.

Table 10-15. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Less than $4,000	45.9	60.6	30.6	28.0	88.2	93.8	81.4	85.1
$4,000 to 5,999	35.1	33.3	20.0	24.0	5.9	6.2	10.5	12.8
$6,000 to 7,999	10.8	3.0	18.3	20.0	2.9	0.0	5.8	2.1
$8,000 to 9,999	5.4	3.0	14.5	12.8	2.9	0.0	1.2	0.0
$10,000 to 14,999	2.7	0.0	11.1	11.2	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0
Above $15,000	0.0	0.0	5.5	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sample size	37	33	235	125	34	16	86	47
Median	$4,234	$3,300	$5,940	$5,833	$2,268	$2,132	$2,457	$2,350
Ratio 1[1]	71.3%	56.6%			92.3%	90.7%		
Ratio 2[2]	128.3%		101.8%		106.4%		104.6%	

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[1] Black to white in same class.

[2] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-16. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Nine to Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Less than $4,000	41.6	41.1	25.2	27.7	82.9	75.3	62.5	69.6
$4,000 to 5,999	26.5	29.4	13.6	14.6	12.8	22.1	23.4	20.6
$6,000 to 7,999	23.0	23.5	18.7	23.0	3.4	2.6	10.6	6.0
$8,000 to 9,999	8.0	5.9	16.5	17.4	0.9	0.0	2.5	2.4
$10,000 to 14,999	0.0	0.0	21.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.1
Above $15,000	0.9	0.0	5.1	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3
Sample size	113	85	1,088	466	117	77	870	369
Median	$4,634	$4,605	$7,198	$6,670	$2,413	$2,656	$3,200	$2,861
Ratio 1[1]	64.4%	69.0%			75.4%	92.8%		
Ratio 2[2]	100.6%		107.9%		90.9%		111.8%	

[1] Black to white in same class.

[2] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-17. Seven Southern SMSA's
Earnings of Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Earnings	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Less than $4,000	27.9	58.1	23.0	30.8	59.7	74.3	48.3	50.0
$4,000 to 5,999	16.3	25.8	7.4	9.5	12.9	14.3	22.8	24.8
$6,000 to 7,999	25.6	12.9	10.7	13.9	16.1	11.4	20.3	17.2
$8,000 to 9,999	20.9	3.2	13.4	15.2	9.7	0.0	4.9	5.8
$10,000 to 14,999	4.7	0.0	26.4	21.8	1.6	0.0	2.7	1.8
Above $15,000	4.7	0.0	19.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3
Sample size	43	31	1,384	546	62	35	778	326
Median	$6,453	$3,442[1]	$8,328	$7,396	$3,350	$2,692	$ 4,149	$4,000
Ratio 1[2]	77.5%				80.7%	67.3%		
Ratio 2[3]			112.6%		124.4%		103.7%	

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[1] This earnings distribution is so far out of line that no ratios were calculated from it. The sample is quite small, but hardly small enough to account for this result.

[2] Black to white in same class.

[3] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-18. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	6.5	2.7	1.9	2.7	0.0	0.0	4.5	4.5
Manager	2.2	0.0	7.3	5.4	0.0	0.0	3.2	4.5
Sales	0.0	0.0	7.9	6.8	5.0	0.0	12.3	11.9
Clerical	4.3	0.0	5.7	4.7	5.0	13.3	15.5	10.4
Craftsmen	19.6	13.5	36.1	30.4	5.0	0.0	1.3	1.5
Operatives	26.1	29.7	25.6	27.7	40.0	13.3	30.3	29.9
Laborers	34.8	24.3	7.0	14.2	10.0	6.7	2.6	1.5
Services	6.5	29.7	8.5	8.1	35.0	66.7	30.3	35.8
Sample size	46	37	316	148	20	15	155	67

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-19. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Nine thru Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	3.4	2.3	7.9	7.6	7.1	4.8	6.2	6.2
Managers	0.8	1.1	13.8	10.2	0.9	0.0	3.8	2.6
Sales	4.2	0.0	11.4	8.0	6.2	3.6	11.2	10.6
Clerical	9.2	17.2	7.9	6.7	34.8	21.4	55.2	48.3
Craftsmen	15.1	14.9	26.0	27.2	2.7	2.4	1.4	1.1
Operatives	37.8	43.7	18.2	21.6	19.6	16.7	8.4	11.7
Laborers	20.2	13.8	6.4	9.8	2.7	4.8	0.6	0.9
Services	9.2	6.9	8.3	8.9	25.9	46.4	13.2	18.6
Sample size	119	87	1,121	449	112	84	1,256	528

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-20. Seven Southern SMSA's
Occupational Distributions, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex
[in percent]

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	28.3	15.6	39.9	40.6	43.7	46.7	42.8	45.3
Manager	10.9	0.0	19.2	13.8	1.4	0.0	4.1	3.6
Sales	4.3	6.2	15.2	11.8	2.8	8.9	6.9	5.3
Clerical	19.6	28.1	8.8	10.9	31.0	31.1	36.9	39.3
Craftsmen	8.7	12.5	6.6	8.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.2
Operatives	15.2	12.5	4.4	7.9	7.0	8.9	2.0	0.5
Laborers	2.2	3.1	2.2	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Services	10.9	21.9	3.7	4.1	14.1	4.4	6.5	4.6
Sample size	46	32	1,450	542	71	45	1,038	415

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-21. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Grade Eight or Less
By Race and Sex

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	731	304	214	304	0	0	307	307
Managers	271	0	898	664	0	0	199	285
Sales	0	0	657	566	114	0	280	271
Clerical	342	0	454	374	232	618	720	483
Craftsmen	1,731	1,192	3,189	2,685	214	0	56	64
Operatives	1,855	2,111	1,819	1,969	1,554	517	1,177	1,162
Laborers	1,684	1,176	339	687	315	211	82	47
Service	362	1,654	473	451	889	1,695	770	910
IOP	$ 6,976	$6,437	$8,043	$7,700	$3,318	$3,041	$3,591	$3,529
Ratio 1[1]	86.7%	83.6%			92.4%	86.2%		
Ratio 2[2]	108.4%		105.5%		109.1%		101.8%	

[1] Black to white.

[2] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-22. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, Grades Nine through Twelve
By Race and Sex

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	383	259	889	855	485	328	423	423
Manager	98	135	1,698	1,255	56	0	237	162
Sales	349	0	949	666	141	82	255	242
Clerical	733	1,370	629	534	1,617	994	2,565	2,244
Craftsmen	1,334	1,316	2,296	2,403	115	103	60	47
Operatives	2,686	3,106	1,293	1,535	761	649	326	455
Laborers	977	668	310	474	85	151	19	28
Service	512	384	462	496	658	1,179	335	473
IOP	$7,072	$7,238	$8,526	$8,218	$3,918	$3,486	$ 4,220	$4,074
Ratio 1[1]	82.9%	88.1%			92.8%	85.6%		
Ratio 2[2]	97.7%		103.7%		112.4%		103.6%	

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[1] Black to white.

[2] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table 10-23. Seven Southern SMSA's
Indexes of Occupational Position, Metro and Rural In-migrants
Educational Level, More than Twelve Grades
By Race and Sex

Occupation	Males				Females			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural	Metro	Rural
Professional; technical	3,183	1,755	4,488	4,567	2,985	3,190	2,923	3,094
Managers	1,341	0	2,362	1,698	87	0	255	224
Sales	358	516	1,265	982	64	203	157	121
Clerical	1,561	2,238	701	868	1,440	1,445	1,714	1,826
Craftsmen	768	1,104	583	768	0	0	30	51
Operatives	1,080	888	313	561	272	346	78	19
Laborers	106	150	106	106	0	0	3	6
Service	607	1,219	206	228	358	112	165	117
IOP	$9,004	$7,870	$10,024	$9,778	$5,206	$5,296	$5,325	$5,458
Ratio 1[1]	89.8%	80.5%			97.8%	97.0%		
Ratio 2[2]	114.4%		102.5%		98.3%		97.6%	

[1] Black to white.

[2] Metro to rural, by race.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Summary

The principle objective of this report was to utilize data from the 1970 Census to substantiate the findings and conclusions of the SMSA studies in the Black Employment in the South project. That project, directed by F. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas, relied on 1960 Census data supplemented by 1966 and 1969 EEO-1 reports of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: it seemed advisable to see whether the more recent 1970 Census data would confirm the employment patterns upon which the analytical framework of the earlier study was based. [1] A secondary objective was to use the 1970 Census data to examine in detail - more detail than was possible in the BES project - two aspects of black employment: one, the relationship between education on the one hand and earnings and occupational status on the other; two, the impact of in-migration on the quality of the black labor force in the largest southern metropolitan areas.

In the earlier chapters it was seen that occupational distributions generated from 1970 Census data virtually duplicate those made for the Black Employment in the South study from EEO-1 data. SMSA by SMSA, at the city wide level of aggregation, there is strong agreement between them. The EEO-1 data cover large firms, 100 or more employees, while the Census data cover firms of all sizes, so they together provide strong presumptive evidence that racial occupational status is much the same in small firms as in large firms. It follows that the absence of small firm data had little effect on the labor market wide analyses and conclusions of the SMSA researchers in the BES study.

Further, the Census data extend the EEO-1 reports in one important respect: they supply information on earnings, in addition to that on occupation, which the EEO-1 reports do not. This earnings information shows unmistakeably that the black worker's relative earnings position is worse than his relative occupational position. This finding holds even when the educational level is held constant. A combination of factors is apparently responsible: indexes of occupational position are calculated on the assumption that median earnings are the same at given occupational levels in all industries, whereas blacks are more likely to be found in declining industries with below average wages at all occupational levels; blacks are concentrated toward the lower end of the spectrum of jobs that are combined in one Census class (a technician may be anything from a sophisticated manual laborer to a paramedic who is a highly trained medical specialist); blacks are paid less for performing the same work. The earnings data indicate even more definitely than did the occupational data of the Black Employment in the South study that unequal treatment in the labor market itself remains, despite Title VII, a major problem for blacks.

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[1] F. Ray Marshall and Virgil L. Christian, Jr., eds., "The Employment of Southern Blacks (Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Publishing Company, 1975.

The 1970 Census data do not support the hypothesis that in-migration of rural blacks lowered the quality of the black labor force in southern SMSA's in the 1965 to 1970 period. Rural to urban migration of southern blacks had slowed considerably by 1965 if for no other reason than that previous out-migration had greatly reduced the potential for further outflows, and more than half of all southern blacks lived in SMSs by 1970. Also, for the first time, the proportion of the black population in rural areas was less than the corresponding proportion of the white population. But it was not the declining flow of rural in-migrants that was primarily responsible for the reduction of the effect in-migration had on the black labor force, though that was clearly one of the considerations. The difference in median years of schooling between rural and urban blacks diminished greatly after 1950, so later in-migrants were much better off relative to the urban labor force than were the earlier groups. Consequently, it is not unexpected that in-migrants from both rural and urban areas show earnings and occupational distributions that compare favorably with those of the resident population. However, residents, by race and sex, generally lead in earnings after standardization for years of schooling, suggesting that experience, seniority, on the job training, and the like, give the resident an advantage, other things equal.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the 1965 to 1970 data on in-migrants shed no light on the characteristics of black in-migrants during the earlier period of heavy displacement of the agricultural labor force. Many of the in-migrants from the earlier period had become part of the resident urban population by 1965, and insofar as they pulled the average schooling of the 1970 urban population down, they served to make present comparisons more favorable to recent in-migrants. More than that, disaggregation of in-migration data by place of origin, rural or urban, shows that in-migrants from rural areas have about as much education, get as good jobs, and earn roughly the same as do in-migrants from other SMSAs. Thus, even though black farm operators will continue, for a variety of reasons related to farm size, availability of capital, and policies of the U.S.D.A., to be disproportionately displaced from southern farms, there is little basis for arguing that the relative position of the urban black labor force will suffer as a result.

Educational achievement is but one of many factors associated with earnings. Native ability, appearance, the wealth and social position of one's parents, the amount and kind of on-the-job training one receives, are others of obvious relevance. There is a high degree of interrelationship among these factors, and separation of that part of any increment in annual (or lifetime) earnings that is directly traceable to an increment in education is a difficult conceptual and empirical problem. As one example, Lester Thurow, in a recent study for the Department of Labor, points up the confounding between returns to education and returns to on the job training, and makes the statement: "To determine whether there is or is not a positive return to more education, it is necessary to know the marginal effect of more education on training costs . . . Without this training cost data, it is impossible to say whether higher education does or does not have a positive social rate of return as an economic investment. 2/ Nevertheless, he does not deny the importance of either, or both, and observes that "if the distributions of earnings is to be made more equal, then the distributions of human capital investments must be made more equal." 3/

The notion that blacks in all age brackets have worked at lower status jobs and have earned less at given levels of education is widely accepted and is strongly supported by a large body of research. This has been true in all regions of the country and it has been doubly true in the South. It has also been asserted, and supported, that the differences between white and black earnings and occupational distributions widen as educational levels rise. The argument is that poorly educated members of both races are likely to be found in low pay, low status jobs and in lines of progression that dead-end well down the occupational ladder, but that whites have been able, to a much greater degree than blacks, to break out of this pattern with more education. This also has been peculiarly true in the South where there has been a strong tradition against blacks, regardless of qualifications, being put in supervisory position over whites.

No attempt was made in this study to isolate that part of earnings attributed to education, by race, age, and sex, or to develop the corollary cost data needed to estimate rates of return. Hence there were no calculations to show directly that the rate of return for blacks is on the upswing. Instead, use is made of an underlying assumption that as the racial earnings gap disappears that part of the gap associated with education will also disappear, implying that a convergence in annual earnings will bring about a convergence in the rate of return to education.

Studies that have shown a lower rate of return to education for blacks than for whites have led some to argue that education has but a minor role to play in bringing blacks to full labor market equality. But this conclusion sidesteps the fact that regardless of relative declines in black earnings by level of education, blacks with higher levels of education earn more than blacks with lower levels, and that there are big jumps at the "credential" high school and college graduate years. Further, the 1970 Census data show that young blacks at given educational levels are better off relative to young whites than are older blacks relative to older whites (which is not surprising since it has always been true) and they also show that 1970's young blacks were better off relative to that year's young whites than were their predecessors ten years earlier. Thus the 1970 data are encouraging because, even though

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2/ Lester C. Thurow, "Final Report on Manpower Research Contract, 221-25-23-36," M.I.T., 1975, p. 18

3/ Ibid., p. 4

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racial earnings profiles are such that the black-white spread in annual earnings for an age cohort becomes greater as its members get older, they show today's young blacks off to a better start. More substantial progress for blacks of course, would be evidenced by a coming together of the earnings curves: then the growth in earnings for blacks would parallel that for whites, and there would not be the sharp divergence in the middle and later earnings years that creates the sharp difference in lifetime earnings, by educational level, for aggregation across the whole black and white labor forces. Data from the 1980 Census will provide substantial evidence in respect of shifts in these lifetime earnings curves.

Finally, the relationships between education and occupational status, by race, roughly parallel those between education and earnings, though the black occupational disadvantage is not as marked as the earnings disadvantage. Black women, as usual, are better off relative to white women than are black men relative to white men, and black women at the top educational level actually appear to have better jobs than white women. 4/ However, it is a measure of the disadvantage for women of both races that, at all levels of education, black men, despite their markedly inferior position relative to white men, are well in advance of black women in both earnings and indexes of occupational position.

4/ The sample is too thin at this level of disaggregation to be unequivocal in this assertion.